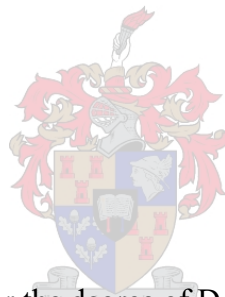


**Music and Militarisation during the period of the South
African Border War (1966-1989):
Perspectives from *Paratus***

Martha Susanna de Jongh



Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University

Supervisor:

Professor Stephanus Muller

Co-supervisor:

Professor Ian van der Waag

December 2020

Declaration

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: 29 July 2020

Abstract

In the absence of literature of the kind, this study addresses the role of music in militarising South African society during the time of the South African Border War (1966-1989). The War on the border between Namibia and Angola took place against the backdrop of the Cold War, during which the apartheid South African government believed that it had to protect the last remnants of Western civilization on the African continent against the communist onslaught. Civilians were made aware of this perceived threat through various civilian and military channels, which included the media, education and the private business sector. The involvement of these civilian sectors in the military resulted in the increasing militarisation of South African society through the blurring of boundaries between the civilian and the military. Examples include where civilians were made aware of the military effort and where they were militarily prepared from a young age through school visits, participation in para-military activities, and the school cadet system, leading to conscription. While some actively participated in the war through conscription, those at home were drawn into the effort by means of supporting roles. Through a perusal of the former South African Defence Force (SADF) magazine, *Paratus* (formerly known as *Commando*), this study investigates the role of music in these processes of militarisation. This dissertation includes descriptions of official military structures such as bands and choirs and their participation at civilian and military events. This does not exclude civilian groups and individual musicians who participated in military environments. The performance of non-military music by military bands, and the involvement of civilian musicians in military environments indicate how military ideals were transferred through the re-contextualisation of music as it was framed by the military environment. Other structures implicated in these processes included broadcasting and how the message of the military was conveyed through programmes, with music as vehicle, directed towards civilians and soldiers alike, contributing towards the construct of the soldier and the collective military effort. By means of numerous examples gleaned from *Paratus*, this study illustrates that music served as conduit in the process of militarisation of South African society.

Opsomming

In die afwesigheid van literatuur in verband met hierdie onderwerp, spreek die studie die rol van musiek in die militarisering van die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing tydens die jare van die Suid-Afrikaanse Grensoorlog (1966-1989) aan. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Grensoorlog op die grens tussen Namibië en Angola het plaasgevind teen die agtergrond van die Koue Oorlog, waartydens die apartheidsregering geglo het dat hulle die laaste oorblyfsels van Westerse beskawing op die Afrika kontinent moes beskerm teen die kommunistiese aanslag. Die burgerlike samelewing is vergewis van die sogenaamde bedreiging deur middel van verskeie burgerlike en militêre kanale, wat die media, opvoeding en die private sakesektor ingesluit het. Die betrokkenheid van hierdie burgerlike sektore in die militêre omgewing, het gelei tot die toenemende militarisering van die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing deur die vervaging van grense tussen hierdie twee entiteite. Voorbeelde sluit in waar burgerlikes bewusgemaak is van die militêre gebeure en waar hulle ook militêr voorberei is vanaf 'n jong ouderdom deur middel van skoolbesoeke, deelname in para-militêre aktiwiteite, en die skoolkadetstelsel, wat gelei het tot diensplig. Terwyl sommige burgers aktief aan die oorlog deelgeneem het deur middel van diensplig, was daar ook diegene tuis wat in ondersteuningsrolle by die oorlog betrek is. Deur middel van 'n oorsig van die voormalige Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag tydskrif, *Paratus* (voorheen bekend as *Kommando*), ondersoek hierdie studie die rol van musiek in hierdie prosesse van militarisering. Hierdie tesis sluit in beskrywings van amptelike militêre strukture soos orkeste en kore en hul deelname aan burgerlike en militêre geleenthede. Dit sluit ook in burgerlike groepe en individuele musici wat in militêre omgewings aktief was. Die uitvoer van nie-militêre musiek deur militêre orkeste en die betrokkenheid van burgerlike musici in militêre omgewings dui aan hoe militêre ideale oorgedra is deur die herkontekstualisering van musiek deur die militêre etos. Verdere strukture waarvan hier melding gemaak word, sluit in die uitsaaiwese en hoe militêre idees oorgedra is deur middel van musiekprogramme, gemik op burgerlikes en soldate, wat bygedra het tot die konstruksie van die idee van die soldaat en die kollektiewe militêre poging. Deur middel van verskeie voorbeelde uit *Paratus*, illustreer hierdie studie dat musiek as vervoermiddel gedien het in die proses van militarisering van die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing.

Acknowledgements

I would like to sincerely thank a number of people who supported me during this journey and without whom this study would not have come to completion:

My supervisor, Prof Stephanus Muller, for his guidance during the course of this study.

My co-supervisor, Prof Ian van der Waag, for his expertise.

Ms Ellen Tise for her support.

Mrs Beulah Gericke-Geldenhuys and my colleagues at the SU Music Library for their unfailing support and encouragement during these years, as well as my colleagues within the SU Library & Information Service for their support.

The interviewees and questionnaire respondents for their time and for sharing their experiences with me.

The staff at the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) Documentation Services, Namibian National Library, SWAPO Party archives, *The Namibian* newspaper, Stellenbosch University Library and Information Service, the National Library and the University of Cape Town Library.

Prof Edwin Hees for the language editing and his interest in my work.

Prof Ian Liebenberg, Capt Herman Warden and Mrs Ina Botes for their assistance with *Paratus*.

Mr Arthur Feder for his assistance with the analysis and transcription of the music discussed in this study.

Ms Selene Delport for assisting me with my reference list.

Prof Daan Nel and Martin Kidd of the Centre for Statistical Consultation for their assistance with the questionnaires on *Checkbox*.

Prof Stephanus Muller's postgraduate seminar group who read through sections of my work.

Prof Stephanus Muller for the opportunity to attend the Fijnbos writing week and to the colleagues who read my work, for their constructive input.

Mr Conway Boezak, Ms Nore de Jongh and Mrs Rachel van Heyningen for assisting me with transcriptions of the interviews.

Beatrix Callard for her assistance during my research in Namibia, for reading and taking an interest in my work, for helping me to look at my work critically and for her unfailing support.

Arné and Henri Minnaar for their assistance during my research in Pretoria.

George Whitehead for his generosity, encouragement and support during my research.

My family and friends who walked this journey with me, who took an interest in my work and who encouraged me, for not giving up on me.

Table of contents

Declaration.....	i
Abstract.....	ii
Opsomming.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of contents	v
List of figures.....	xi
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Structure of this dissertation.....	5
2 Literature review	8
3 South African Border War: General background and ideological context.....	27
3.1 The Border.....	27
3.1.1 Borders within borders.....	35
3.2 Background and historical overview	37
3.2.1 Cold War: Ideological context	40
3.2.2 Participants.....	44
3.3 Summary	46
4 Militarisation.....	48
4.1 Mechanisms.....	49
4.2 Tools and channels	50
4.3 Militarisation: Global and African context.....	53
4.4 South African context.....	54
4.5 Militarisation and music.....	59
4.6 Summary	62

5	Military sensitization and conscription	63
5.1	Youth movements: Military sensitization before conscription.....	63
5.1.1	The Cadet Movement and Youth Preparedness	69
5.1.1.1	Cadet competitions.....	74
5.1.1.2	Public events	75
5.2	Conscription	82
5.2.1	Recruiting.....	88
5.2.1.1	Music in recruiting	89
5.2.1.2	Music in training.....	92
5.2.2	The soldier	93
5.2.3	South African Army Women's College (SAAWC).....	103
5.2.3.1	Parades.....	106
5.2.3.2	Tours, visits and border visits.....	109
5.2.3.3	South African Army Women's College (SAAWC) Band	110
5.2.4	Conscientious objection	112
5.3	Summary	113
6	The Media	115
6.1	Censorship and the media	121
6.2	Radio request programmes.....	124
6.3	Summary	130
7	SADF Bands and Choirs	132
7.1	SADF Bands.....	134
7.1.1	1 Maintenance Unit.....	134
7.1.2	1 Transkei Battalion	136
7.1.3	21 Battalion.....	137
7.1.3.1	21 Battalion Band formation and history.....	139
7.1.3.2	Honours and awards	140

7.1.3.3	Military days and shows.....	141
7.1.3.4	Border	144
7.1.4	111 Battalion	146
7.1.5	113 Battalion	147
7.1.6	115 Battalion	148
7.1.7	116 Battalion	149
7.1.8	121 Battalion	150
7.1.8.1	121 Battalion Band formation and history	152
7.1.8.2	Parades and events	152
7.1.9	201 Battalion	153
7.1.10	SAS Jalsena.....	155
7.1.10.1	SAS Jalsena Band formation and history.....	157
7.1.10.2	Performances	159
7.1.10.3	Parades.....	160
7.1.11	South African Air Force Band.....	161
7.1.12	South African Army Band.....	167
7.1.13	South African Army Women's College Band	173
7.1.14	South African Cape Corps (SACC)	173
7.1.14.1	South African Cape Corps Band formation and history	177
7.1.14.2	Site visits.....	180
7.1.14.3	Freedom of Entry, Honours and Unit Colours.....	181
7.1.14.4	Military days and shows.....	183
7.1.14.5	Parliament.....	184
7.1.14.6	Celebrations and Commemorations	186
7.1.14.7	Concerts and performances.....	188
7.1.15	South African Infantry (SAI)	190
7.1.16	South African Medical Service Band.....	191
7.1.17	South African Navy Band	192

7.1.18	South African Prison Service and South African Police Bands	197
7.1.19	South West African Permanent Force Band.....	198
7.1.20	South West African Territorial Force (SWATF) Band	199
7.1.21	Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF)	201
7.1.22	Venda Defence Force (VDF)	203
7.1.23	Light Horse Regimental Band	204
7.1.24	Natal Carbineers Regimental Band.....	206
7.1.25	Pipe bands	207
7.2	SADF Choirs.....	212
7.2.1	202 Battalion: The Kavango Choir	212
7.2.2	South African Army Church Choir and Concert Group (The Canaries).....	215
7.2.3	1 Military Hospital Choir.....	220
7.2.4	Other choirs.....	220
7.3	Summary	223
8	Performing Artists.....	226
8.1.1	The SADF Entertainment Group	227
8.1.2	David Song Group	233
8.1.3	Frontier.....	236
8.1.4	Individual SADF performers	238
8.2	Stars, popular personalities	240
8.3	Drama and cabaret.....	248
8.4	Logistics and facilities.....	249
8.5	Summary	251
9	Events.....	253
9.1	Military traditions and customs.....	253

9.1.1	The Military Retreat.....	254
9.1.2	The Military Tattoo	255
9.1.3	The Military Funeral	266
9.1.4	Regimental Colours	270
9.1.5	Trooping the Colour.....	271
9.1.6	Freedom of Entry to a City	272
9.2	Festivals.....	273
9.2.1	The Republic Festival	273
9.2.2	The Dias Festival	278
9.3	Anniversaries, celebrations and inaugurations.....	282
9.3.1	SADF birthday celebrations.....	282
9.3.2	Independence celebrations	288
9.3.3	Anniversaries	292
9.3.4	Commemoration services.....	296
9.3.5	Opening of Parliament	299
9.3.6	Presidential inaugurations.....	302
9.4	Summary	304
10	Conclusion	306
11	References.....	318
	Interviews.....	380
	Questionnaires.....	381
	Discography	381
	Journals consulted.....	382
	Addendum: Music examples.....	384
	Border Song	384

Ride Safe Song.....	387
Die Grensman	390
Together	392

List of figures

Figure 1: SANDF Documentation Centre finding aids (De Jongh, 2014).....	5
Figure 2: ‘Grenslid’ [‘Border song’] (De Villiers & De Villiers, 1979:26).	33
Figure 3: Depiction of a terrorist (Die oorlog in Angola, 1967b:17).....	44
Figure 4: War toys in ‘Paratus’ (Net soos die ware Jakob, 1987:36-37).....	52
Figure 5: Unforgettable visit to the SADF (Kinders se onvergeetlike besoek aan die SAW, 1985:55).....	64
Figure 6: Youth Year song (Só is die SA Weermag ook by die Jeugjaar betrokke, 1985:32)..	67
Figure 7: Kraaines se ‘Troepies’ wen kompetisie (1984:22).	68
Figure 8: Our NSMs of tomorrow learn the ropes (1981:34).	72
Figure 9: School unveils plaque for soldier (1987:9).	78
Figure 10: Rand Light Infantry led by the Highlands North Boys’ High School band (R.L.I. memorial service, 1969:67).	79
Figure 11: St Pauls College cadets (The Windhoek show, 1985:52-53).....	81
Figure 12: Mr Adriaan Vlok visiting the Technical Services Training Centre at Voortrekkerhoogte (Cronjé, 1985:11).	88
Figure 13: Troopie: Die eerste pas (Stoltz & Roos, 1987:21).....	95
Figure 14: ‘Troopie is going to make you a winner’ (1987:53).....	96
Figure 15: ‘Ride Safe’ sign, Alexandra Rd, King William’s Town (De Jongh, 2011).....	98
Figure 16: Soldier son (1977:iii).....	100
Figure 17: Dankie, Soldaat! (Botes, 1989:34).	101
Figure 18: Troopie Tunes to boost Entertainment Fund (1985:65).....	102
Figure 19: Adieu! Excited volunteers head for George (1983:66).	104
Figure 20: ‘Soldier indeed ... but still woman’ (Greeff, 1977:6).	105
Figure 21: An illustration of femininity (Roodt, 1985b:41; Lindeque, 1976:32).	106

Figure 22: Unit Colours depicting the ‘Seruria Florida’ (‘Blushing Bride’) with Proteas, inscribed, ‘Este Parati’ (‘Be prepared’) (Blom, 1987c:35, 37).	107
Figure 23: SAAWC Choir awaiting the President (Blom, 1987c:36).	107
Figure 24: The SAAWC Band (SAAW Col women: Their example an inspiration to all SA women, 1982:70).	109
Figure 25: SAAWC Band at their Ten Years Anniversary celebration (Kollege verwerf ook roem met trompet en tamboer, 1981:63).	110
Figure 26: The SAAWC Band (Roodt, 1985b:42).	111
Figure 27: The news media and the SADF (Smith, 1974:4).	116
Figure 28: Media sees the Army in action (Fried, 1987b:22).	117
Figure 29: ‘Not candidates for a beauty competition, but guerrilla fighters from the movie, “The Naked Brigade”’ (Rolprente vir 1966, 1966:43).	118
Figure 30: ‘Terrs, we are ready for you!’ (Die ‘Tawwe Tienies’ van Kermkraal, 1984:23)... ..	121
Figure 31: Esmé Euvrard in an armoured car (Nog ‘n Projek Mikrofoon, 1983:77).	125
Figure 32: Band Major Eric Bester leading 1 Maintenance Unit’s marching band (Pressly, 1989c:44).	135
Figure 33: 1 Maintenance Unit dance band (Pressly, 1989c:28).	136
Figure 34: WO2 J.F. Spencer with the 1 Transkei Battalion Band (Leon, 1976:21).	137
Figure 35: Insignia for 21 Battalion (Soweto honours her warrior sons, 1983:6).	138
Figure 36: Children on an Eland armoured car at the Rand Show (Oosthuysen, 1989:38).....	143
Figure 37: The 21 Battalion Band at the show, Witsieshoek (Goeie rassebetrekkings is ons grootste wapen, 1978:11).	143
Figure 38: ‘This is how 21 (Black) Battalion prepared for border duty’ (1978:5).	145
Figure 39: The 111 Battalion Band (Kleyn, 1988a:33).	146
Figure 40: 113 Battalion Band (Kleyn, 1989a:5).	148
Figure 41: 115 Battalion of KwaNdebele (Kleyn, 1989c:13).	149

Figure 42: 116 Battalion band (Kleyn, 1989b:31).	150
Figure 43: The 121 Battalion Band (Ash, 1986a:13).	152
Figure 44: 'For our Bushmen' (Paratus, September 1988).	153
Figure 45: The SAS Jalsena Band under the direction of bandmaster CPO D.S. Roopanand (Navy celebrates SADF 75, 1987:10).	160
Figure 46: SA Air Force Band (1973:13).	161
Figure 47: Air Force Gymnasium concert, UNISA Auditorium, Pretoria (SAAF Gym holds prestige concert, 1989:25).	164
Figure 48: SA Army Band (1973:11).	168
Figure 49: Military insignia (Foote, 1968a:28-29, 37)	170
Figure 50: SA Army Band concert (1968:37).	171
Figure 51: SAKK kry eenheidskleure (1978:3)	181
Figure 52: 'Militêre dag aan Weskus' (1984:32).	183
Figure 53: The SA Cape Corps Band, Adderley Street (De Smidt & Hollander, 1985c:37).	185
Figure 54: Combined SA Cape Corps and SA Army Band at SADF 70th birthday celebration (SAW 1912-1982: 'n Glorieryke dag, 1982:44).	188
Figure 55: Mr Dirkie de Villiers handing over the 'Infantry song' (Infanterieskool het sy eie lied in die hart, 1980:53).	191
Figure 56: SAMS Band (The Windhoek show, 1985:52).	192
Figure 57: SA Navy Band (1973:iv).	196
Figure 58: The South African Police Band (Van de Venter, 1986b:12-13).	198
Figure 59: SWA Permanent Force Pop Band (On the road to fame, 1978:46-47).	199
Figure 60: Hele Suidwes wil na hulle luister (Paratus, 1982:19).	200
Figure 61: Bophuthatswana Defence Force (Ululations at passing out parade, 1983:61).	202
Figure 62: Venda Defence Force (Van de Venter, 1987e:33).	204
Figure 63: Light Horse Regiment gets new Colours (Kallenbach, 1969:34).	205

Figure 64: Natal Carbineers, 1930s (Jones, 1987:26).....	207
Figure 65: Transvaal Scottish Regiment Band (Roodt, 1985f:13).....	208
Figure 66: Band members after Witwatersrand Rifles medal parade (Van Wyk, 1988b:28).	209
Figure 67: 202 Bataljon vier elfde verjaardag (1987:42-43).	212
Figure 68: The Air Force Gymnasium Choir (Koor se puik prestasie, 1989:26).	218
Figure 69: SA Army Church Choir accompanied by Chaplain Harrington, holding a concertina (Lötter, 1976b:22).	219
Figure 70: 2 SAI Battalion choir evening (Choir began to recognise talent, 1988:4).	222
Figure 71: The David Song Group with the State President and family (Thorpe, 1988:33).	235
Figure 72: The David Song Group at the J.G. Strijdom Square in Pretoria (David Song Group on square, 1989:17).....	235
Figure 73: Frontier (Roodt, 1986b:29).....	237
Figure 74: Frontier in ‘Bushmanland’ (Frontiers kry kans om grens te besoek, 1986:12)....	238
Figure 75: Carike Keuzenkamp (with guitar) at the Recovery Wing of 1 Military Hospital. (Carike Keuzenkamp visits recovery wing, 1984:18).....	242
Figure 76: Mass band display (Cohen, 1987b:4).	257
Figure 77: Drum majorettes of St Dominics School advertising the Durban Tattoo (De Smidt 1984:4).	261
Figure 78: Durban Tattoo 1987 (Pentopoulos, 1987b:12-13).....	262
Figure 79: Durban Tattoo poster for 1985 (Rourke, 1985b:23).....	263
Figure 80: Aerial view of Durban Tattoo performance (Kleyn, 1988c:12-13).	264
Figure 81: Funeral of Verwoerd (Dr. H.F. Verwoerd: ‘n Reus onder ons helde, 1966:8-9)...	268
Figure 82: Regimental Colours: 1st City Regiment in Grahamstown (Keeler, 1969:34-35).	271
Figure 83: Air Force Base Waterkloof exercising its Freedom of the Town of Verwoerdburg (AFB Waterkloof marches through Verwoerdburg, 1984:20).....	273
Figure 84: With the crowd at the big parade (Brown, 1966:13).	274

Figure 85: The big parade: 31 May 1966: A day to remember (1966:36-37).....	275
Figure 86: SADF military parade (Onvergeetlike militêre vertoon, 1981:6-7).	277
Figure 87: SA Navy Freedom of Entry parade at the Dias Festival (Fried, 1988e:36-37).	280
Figure 88: SADF 72 years (John, 1984a:34-35).....	284
Figure 89: SA Navy diver handing address to State President (Thousands watch birthday celebrations, 1987:25).....	286
Figure 90: SADF 75 years (Thousands watch birthday celebrations, 1987:26-27).....	286
Figure 91: SADF 77 years and farewell parade for State President (Jooste, 1989c:16-17). .	287
Figure 92: SA Army Band and 1 Transkei Battalion Band at Transkei independence celebration (Leon, & Brews, 1976:20).	289
Figure 93: Pres Matanzima beïndruk deur Vloot se slaankrag (1981:75).	290
Figure 94: Members of the SA Army Band (Ciskei skaar hom nie by lafaards, 1982:8).	290
Figure 95: Ermelo Commando's ten-year anniversary (Jansen van Rensburg, 1985a:13)....	294
Figure 96: The Band of the Prince Alfred's Guard (Roodt, 1986c:31).	295
Figure 97: MOTHS on Armistice Day (Hattingh, 1989b:32).....	297
Figure 98: Air Force Choir at the Annual Memorial Service at Fort Klapperkop (Mills, 1989d:6).	298
Figure 99: Presentation of arms during a wreath-laying ceremony (Brigade onthou sy makkers, 1988:55).....	299
Figure 100: Opening of Parliament 1966: Guard of Honour and SA Navy Band (Spesiale Korrespondent, 1966:34).	300
Figure 101: Opening of Parliament 1987 (Cohen, 1987c:32-33).	301
Figure 102: Presidential inauguration 1983 (Mannekrag, vuurkrag en hulde, 1983:22-27). .	303

1 Introduction

The ‘border’ refers to the border between Namibia and Angola, where the South African government of the time believed that they had to protect the country against communism during the Cold War. This is the area where they actively encountered the South West Africa People’s Organisation (SWAPO), who, at the same time, were fighting for independence. The key role players in this war included the South African Defence Force (SADF) and its allies (the South African Police (SAP) and Union for Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA), and the liberation movements (African National Congress (ANC), Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the South West Africa People’s Organisation (SWAPO) and the People’s Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) and their allies.¹ Although the border war has been given many labels, I will use the term ‘South African Border War’, not with the intention of discrediting the various terms, but only from a personal frame of reference. Although music has played a significant role in military and warfare since antiquity, little has been written about music and militarisation during the South African Border War. This is in spite of the fact that there is an increasing body of literature pertaining to many different aspects of the South African Border War. In accounts about the Border War music is hardly represented. This could mean that music played a comparatively small or even an insignificant role during the Border War. However, it is the hypothesis of this study that music was an important activity in military terms during this time. The silence in the literature therefore points to insufficient research or attitudes reflecting an impression of music’s insignificance, rather than its actual unimportance or absence. It is the objective of this study to redress this imbalance. It is appropriate to study the topic of music and militarisation during this period, as it is a time still remembered and experienced by a generation still within our midst,² which means it is still possible to consult individuals who were directly and indirectly part of this important event. The study contributes to a discourse that engages with aspects of South Africa’s traumatic past. It is particularly relevant to ask how music as a mode of cultural production interacts in

¹ See Chapter Three for a more comprehensive list of participants.

² This refers to ex-soldiers born 1969 and earlier.

structures of violence. This is, of course, not only an historical question, but also a more general philosophical question.

Because the topic is virtually unexplored, this study depended on the research process itself to delimit the scope of the enquiry. Although the scope of the research is delimited by a time period (1966-1989) and conceptually by the research field of the Border War as it played out in various locations among opposing forces, archival material and interviews conducted during the course of the study revealed richer sources than anticipated and thus made the scope of the thesis unmanageable. This was confirmed by questionnaires disseminated via military groups on social media, a visit to the South African National Defence Force Documentation Centre in Pretoria, a survey of print literature from various groupings (SADF, ANC and SWAPO), a visit to the SWAPO archives and the Namibian National Library in Windhoek, correspondence with archival institutions and interviews with former soldiers (SADF and SWAPO). An initial visit to the South African National Defence Force Documentation Centre gave a fair amount of insight into the scope of music-related documents. At first, I perused just over three metres of relevant de-classified finding aids (of some 80 metres of finding aids in total) with basic and often vague information, listing a body of individual documents. Access to these individual documents required an application process where some, if not most of it, still needs to be de-classified at a financial cost. This application process for de-classification, which I have not personally encountered, thus promises to be a lengthy one. Based on some 2 000 images of these finding aids, a second round with specific requests, provided similar results, i.e. the need to consult the same military groupings of finding aids. Particular requests required me to re-type the identified information from these finding aids to access the required documents. This process was useful in surveying the field to assess the scope of music sources available and to familiarise myself with the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) Documentation

Services' specific processes and possibilities to access their sources (also for future research) that could shed light on this topic.³

Issues of *Commando*, *Paratus*, *Sechaba*, *Dawn*, *Rixaka* and *Mayibuye*, all spanning the timeframe of this study were consulted.⁴ A visit to the SWAPO archives shed light on video recordings (these are also obtainable at the SWAPO offices in Windhoek, Namibia), while I had access to SWAPO publications (*SWAPO News and Views*, *SWAPO Information and Comments*, *SWAPO Information Bulletin*) at the Namibian National Library, and *The Namibian* newspaper, which is not a SWAPO publication. Paper documents from the SWAPO archives are located in the Namibian National Library and were inaccessible during my visit to Namibia in 2017. Questionnaires (tested beforehand) directed at former conscripts on *SUNSurveys* (*Checkbox*), with the link posted on various SADF forums (some 22 groups) on *Facebook* and sent to individuals via e-mail, were disseminated at the same time as I consulted the above-mentioned magazines. The questionnaires did not yield successful results (13 responses out of 1 250 clicks). Whether this was due to the length of the questionnaires, or the types of questions, is uncertain. One respondent had misgivings about the questionnaire outcomes, which may be a partial explanation, perhaps reflective of the views of a number of former SADF conscripts, for the perceived reticence of respondents. The questionnaires were drawn up based on themes as found in Pieslak (2009) and Kartomi (2010), and explored areas pertaining to military involvement, conscription and recruitment, training, the border and combat, service in townships, imprisonment and torture, recreation, kinds of music, access to music, performance of music in different contexts, and experiences during the transition in 1994. Set questions, based on these same themes, were included in interviews with former

³ See also Baines (2010:87-94) regarding access to South African National Defence Force Documentation Centre documents. Archives for future possibilities include Anti-Apartheid Movement Archives, the Archive for Contemporary Affairs (ARCA), The Archive of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1956-1998 at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Black Sash collections at South African institutions, the Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR) collection, the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) archives at Wits, the Liberation Archives at the University of Fort Hare [ANC Archives], South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) Radio Archives, South African History Archive (SAHA) at Wits, South African National Defence Force (SANDF) Central Library, South African National Museum of Military History (SANMMH), and the UWC Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archive.

⁴ See 'Journals consulted' at the end of the Reference list.

SADF and PLAN members involved in the Border War, and with artists who visited the border (having experienced difficulty in making contact with former MK members). I obtained contact details for interviewees through personal contacts, referrals and through attending events. Although there was a richer yield of sources than anticipated (as mentioned earlier in this introduction), there was still an imbalance in the number of sources in terms of giving equal prominence to all parties involved in the SA Border War, as I had initially intended doing. This led to the narrowing of scope where the focus was placed on the *Paratus* magazine as core information source for this study.⁵ The initial title, ‘Music and Militarisation during the South African Border War, 1966-1989’ thus changed to ‘Music and Militarisation during the South African Border War, 1966-1989’: Perspectives from *Paratus*. By paging through *Commando* and *Paratus* from 1966 to 1989, I specifically looked for reportage that included music related content, which then yielded approximately 460 articles. This included content on parades, events, open days, concerts, celebrations, visits and tours by civilians and military staff, performances by civilian and military artists, choir performances and informal music performances. As the *Paratus* magazine links to vast amounts of primary (organisational) documentation, this creates further opportunities for more in-depth research based on the actual organisational documentation. In this narrower sense, this study is explorative in nature, providing a perspective on the rich and diverse uses of music in the processes of militarization during this period from the mid-sixties to the late eighties.

Questions about the role of music during the South African Border War focus on three arenas: military sensitization of the youth before conscription; the role of music in setting the rhythms of military units; and music and militarization in civil society. With regards to these areas, the research initially probed the documented uses of music during armed conflict, i.e. for propaganda purposes, to support the morale of troops (Imrie 1976:54; Kartomi 2010:474),⁶ for indoctrination, in psychological warfare, music as instrumental in torture and interrogation (Pieslak 2009:78-99), music as vehicle to express feelings (Pieslak 2009:100-134), music for

⁵ This includes the *Commando* magazine, which is the predecessor of *Paratus*.

⁶ The reference list in this study combines all sources used. Sources that are not from *Paratus* are indicated in grey.

entertainment (Bantjés 1990; Imrie 1976:54), recruiting (Pieslak 2009:16, 45), training and in combat (Pieslak 2009:46-57). Underpinning these themes, Cleveland (1994) writes on entertainment and recreation, recording and dissemination media, morale, propaganda, patriotism, identity, heroism and psychological warfare, as well as on song themes (loss, heroism, bravery, food, living conditions, gender, sexuality and mortality). These functions of music served as points of departure based on the literature. However, the course of the study changed due to findings in the material consulted.



Figure 1: SANDF Documentation Centre finding aids (De Jongh, 2014).

1.1 Structure of this dissertation

This study is an empirical, qualitative and historical study that depended on a literature study and interviews. Following the literature review in Chapter Two, the third chapter provides a general background to the South African Border War. This includes an historical overview internationally, on the African continent (liberation wars), and on local ground. This discussion cannot be complete without touching on the ideological context of the Cold War, which was

the background to justifying the Border War. The concept of ‘the border’ in itself is briefly explored in terms of a geographical space, as well as psychological and symbolic ideological space contested by a number of participants, i.e. the SADF, ANC and SWAPO and their allies.

Drawing mostly on the work of Regan (1994), Cock (1989a), Alexander (2000), Alexandra (1993), Warwick (2009) and Estes (2006), the theoretical framework of militarisation is discussed in Chapter Four. This briefly surveys the role of the military in a country’s affairs and in civilian matters, with the military encroaching on the civilian sphere to the extent that boundaries between the military and the civilian become blurred. State mechanisms then start using civilian channels as tools for militarisation, including education, religion, entertainment and the media. The apartheid state used the global context of the Cold War to justify its cause and therefore used these channels to spread its message.

Chapter Five looks at military sensitization of the adolescent through youth movements, youth camps and the school cadet system. The cadet system also played a part in preparing boys for conscription, and music had its place within this system. This is followed by an overview of conscription and the extent to which music played a role in this process, which also includes the construction of the soldier as a role model to aspire to. The female soldier was epitomized in the likes of the candidates at the South African Army Women’s College (SAAWC), which also endorsed certain constructs of womanhood. A small section notes the phenomenon of conscientious objection which is not a focus of the study.

The media as conduit for militarisation, as shown in Chapter Six, could not operate without a good deal of censorship, as illustrated briefly. There was an emphasis on radio request programmes, since these were seen as a link between civilian society and soldiers on the border.

Chapter Seven is a substantial in that it contains histories of military bands and choirs that were attached to structures of the state. Where possible, information is provided on the units or divisions, the formation and functions of bands within those units or divisions, performances by these bands and their participation in public events such as military days, shows and parents’ days. A number of these bands were grouped according to the prevailing South African racial classifications.

Performing artists (Chapter Eight) from civilian and military ranks included the SADF Entertainment Group, David Song Group, Frontier, and individual SADF performers. Although a number of civilian performers are included, for illustrative purposes, specific mention is made of singer Pierre de Charmoy due to the availability of documentation. Various arts such as drama and cabaret, were also employed, but are only briefly discussed.

Military events included specific military traditions and customs, of which a brief explanation introduces Chapter Nine. Events included military participation in public festivals such as the Republic and Dias Festivals, SADF birthday celebrations, anniversaries, independence celebrations, commemoration services, openings of Parliament, and Presidential inaugurations. These public events were often accompanied by military parades and displays of military hardware in the presence of large crowds.

My interest in this research was prompted by a music exhibition at the Anglo-Boer war museum in Bloemfontein, titled, 'War Morale', during a research visit in August 2007. This study is intended to provide perspectives on the processes set in motion by official institutions and individuals' responses to these processes. As this was a painful history for many individuals, my attempts to document one aspect of this history, are also cognizant of this pain, of my own status as a white, female South African, and not as a former conscript, and of the necessity to write about my findings respectfully and empathetically.

2 Literature review

Research for this study draws on the literature on music and war as a broad area of musicological interest. Literature also relates to historical aspects of the South African Border War. Most of the earlier literature (especially from the 5th to the 19th centuries) pertaining to the effects of music on the human psyche and the uses of music in conflict, the military and governance indicates a high percentage of repetition and reference to Antiquity. This literature deals with emotions such as bravery, the music of military processions and rhythm. The latter refers to marches that give rhythm to military action, or that exemplify the choreography of war. These writings do not include the topic of music associated with militarisation but are more concerned with music and warfare.⁷ Further sources about music and the military tend toward the general and describe the development of the military band in history. These sources include Kappey (2010), the *New Grove Dictionary of Music* (Montagu *et al.*, 2001:683-690), Van Yperen (1966), Farmer (1912, 1950) and Mantle (2009).

The Vietnam War is one incident in recent history where music played a markedly distinctive role, yet sources relevant to this study are minimal. In this respect, a memoir by Kohler and VanHecke (2009) relays information about their band formation and performances when Kohler was drafted to serve in Vietnam. Here music played a role in entertainment (Kohler & VanHecke 2009:76), as morale booster and to console the individual (2009:78).⁸ Recognising the distinctive significance of music during this war ('our first rock and roll war'), Andresen (2000:19) laments the paucity of sources that deal with the music of that time. The fact that music is only mentioned fleetingly in the literature resonates with what I have noted in writings concerning the South African Border War. Although Andresen broadly categorises music as 'pro-' or 'anti-war' (2000:19), his book covers the topics of music according to the following

⁷ See the section on Militarisation and music (Chapter Four), where these sources provide background on writings about music in military contexts.

⁸ 'The band was no longer a hobby [...] I knew it was monumental. Huge. To me. To the band guys. To the soldiers we played for. One thing was for sure: It was a ticket out of there. Away from guns and explosions and fear. Fear that you couldn't admit to because you were a tough, strong American soldier. Fear that you couldn't talk about or it would all come crashing down on you. It was a way out – if only for three sets' (Kohler & VanHecke 2009:189).

themes: ‘music of protest’, ‘music of patriotism’, ‘African-American music and the war’, ‘music of combat’, ‘music about the aftermath of the war’ and ‘the music now’ – each containing a discography according to the relevant themes. Although aimed at a younger audience, Andresen (2000) provides insight into aspects such as large-scale recorded music production, Cold War contexts, race and racism, censorship, the use of music in combat situations (access to music via playing technologies and radio) and in psychological warfare, in post-traumatic stress syndrome (PTSS), and as memory and nostalgia. Similarities between the Vietnam War and the South African Border War include the conviction that a communist onslaught was occurring, visits and performances by celebrities to the soldiers, and the geographical notion of fighting a war on foreign territory.⁹

The writings of Les Cleveland (1994), a soldier who served in the New Zealand Army in the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force (2NZEF) during World War II, range from World War I to the Vietnam War. Chapters are named according to the following themes: ‘The Happy Warrior’, ‘The Reluctant Warrior’, ‘The Bawdy Warrior’, ‘The Hungry Warrior’, ‘The Mortal Warrior’ and the ‘The Vietnam Warrior’. Within these broader categories Cleveland addresses the following topics: morale boosting (this includes initiatives by civilian societies such as the YMCA, Salvation Army, the Church Army and the Red Cross to curb boredom, fatigue and homesickness), propaganda, patriotism, identity (for example, warrior, loved one, and so forth), heroism, song themes (loss, heroism, bravery, food, living conditions, gender, sexuality and mortality) and psychological warfare. Popular culture in particular played an important role in inculcating patriotic sentiments, in expressing emotions and in relaying experiences (Cleveland, 1994:1-3). Types of songs included comic songs, marches (for example, marches by Sousa), anthems, laments, sentimental and nostalgic songs, occupational songs and parodies. Music was conveyed through various entertainment and recreational outlets, which included dissemination through recording media of different time-periods. Although various publications of military songs have been produced, there is little context to elucidate social

⁹ See Kohler and VanHecke (2009:69, 128-129) and Williams (2008:16). See also Baines (2003, 2012) and Rudham (2003) for a comparison between the Vietnam War and South African Border War. Topics generally include ideology, methods of warfare, race and class, and returning home.

meaning and the soldiers' circumstances (1994:xiii). John Bush Jones (2006) analyses various songs of World War II, examining settings for the songs, song topics (allies and enemies, army life, romance, home front and returning from the war).

Focusing on World War I, Watkins (2003) explores the role of music in sustaining national identity. An angle he explores is the inclusion of works with military topics or works of a military character, in particular examples of Western art music composers from countries such as Britain, France and Germany. These include works such as Stravinsky's *Histoire du Soldat* (2003:146-153), Strauss's 'Festliche Praeludium' and 'Ein Heldenleben' (2003:227), Webern's setting of poems by Georg Trakl ('Song of a Captured Blackbird') (2003:231-232), and Alban Berg's 'Wozzeck' (2003:231-232). Watkins also looks at gender roles (2003:263-264), and racial issues and music that stereotyped black people (2003:315-317, 323-326, 336). He also notes soldiers' songs that were created in the trenches, as well as songs relating to specific events such as the departure to the front. The war effort was also popularised among children and the public at large through literature, and children's prayers and games (2003:103-121, 135). The focus on Western art music, as explored by Watkins (2003), is not the central concern of my study, which draws on perspectives from *Paratus*. Reportage in *Paratus* occasionally includes performances in traditional Western art music venues, Western art music performers and titles of works performed. Where mentioned, these performers and works mostly formed a small part of larger events arranged by the military, or by the state or civilian bodies, but with a military presence. Watkins's work (2003) suggests that the exploration of Western art music in a South African military or militarisation context is a substantial topic that can be addressed in future research.

Additional recent sources include Pieslak (2009) and Kartomi (2010). Both of these authors, writing about the context of the wars in Iraq and Aceh respectively, provide information about the function of music for propaganda purposes, to support the morale of troops, for indoctrination, in psychological warfare, as an aspect of torture and interrogation,¹⁰ to express

¹⁰ A whole volume of *The World of Music* (Music and torture, 2013) was dedicated to the topic of music and torture.

feelings, for entertainment, recruitment and training, and in combat. Kartomi (2010:452-456), in particular, also notes the lack of sources in studies of war- and peace-related performing arts in ethnomusicology. Pieslak's (2009) study investigates soldiers' musical practices (performance and listening) during the Iraq war. This includes the music preferences of soldiers that correlated with ethnic background and socioeconomic status. In this account, it is evident that there was a preference for rap and metal music prior to combat. Pieslak also writes about the role of technology in musical practices during the Iraq war. Clearly, significant technological advances have been made since the time of the South African Border War, creating marked differences regarding aspects such as accessibility and dissemination. The theatre of war for soldiers in Iraq and South Africa were different: the Iraq war was a full-scale war (although the American occupation of Iraq turned into counterinsurgency),¹¹ whereas the South African Border War had one organised military faction against dispersed guerrilla factions. Furthermore, since military service in South Africa was compulsory, recruitment campaigns would essentially have differed from countries with voluntary conscription, such as the USA. Recruitment in South Africa took place on a different scale, specifically targeting members to join the Permanent Force.¹² Here, one can see a range of themes emanating from sources such as Andresen (2000), Cleveland (1994), Jones (2006), Watkins (2003), Pieslak (2009) and Kartomi (2010). Common themes in these sources include music and patriotism, combat, memory and nostalgia, morale, propaganda, the expression of emotions, music for entertainment, recruitment and training. Although these themes were not explicitly addressed in *Paratus*, some (propaganda, patriotism, morale and entertainment) could be connected to the content of articles in *Paratus*. Propaganda, as one of the main themes in the South African context, was spread through films, literature, radio programmes, songs, clothing and civilian support structures that boosted the conscription propaganda of the apartheid government (Cawthra, 1986:51-55).¹³

¹¹ See, for example, Pirnie and O'Connell (2008).

¹² See Chapter Five of this study.

¹³ See also Conway (2008) with regards to propaganda to justify the Border War.

A vast body of literature pertaining to the South African Border War has manifested in poetry (at times with illustrations), novels and short stories,¹⁴ diaries,¹⁵ historical accounts and articles, biographies¹⁶ and compilations of interviews with former soldiers.¹⁷ Du Toit and Claassen (2015) and Dean Wingrin (2012) are exceptions in that they include a section of song texts in their historical overview of 1 Parachute Battalion and the South African Air Force. Although no further details about these song texts are given, one can, at least, deduct from these texts, the types of topics covered by these songs. Poetry compilations by Badcock (1981:85-99) and Batley (2007) provide useful general information on army units and border experiences, respectively, but again, only with minor references to music. While Bennett's (2011:47, 191) chronology of South African Naval events from 1488 to 2009 only names the dates for the establishment of the South African Navy Band in 1954, then known as the South African Corps of Marines Band, South African Air Force Brigadier-General Dick Lord (2008), notes two songs that were played by the Mirage F1AZ pilots, (Lord, 2008:222, 237-238, 262-263) and to mark the end of the Mirage F1 (2008:245).

Besides dates and the occasional song texts, as seen in the afore-mentioned sources, a number of personal accounts provide some contexts within which music functioned. In Cas Bakkes's (2008) day-by-day account of training and border events in 1977, one becomes aware of music sung and listened to on the radio (this includes the so-called 'soldier programmes'). Notably, German beer and soldier songs, and the *Südwesterland*, were some of the more popular songs. Radio programmes must have made some impression on soldiers as Bertie Cloete (2009) also refers to music and request programmes (presenter Esmé Euvrard's and the programme, 'Springbok Radio Rendezvous'). Music (also heard through a loudspeaker) featured in the different phases of National Service, served as reminder of home, and was performed on the

¹⁴ Examples of novels and short stories include A.J. Brooks (2007), *The Border*; Frans Coetzee (1985), *Vir onskuldiges*; *Forces' Favourites* (1988); J.C. Steyn (1976), *Op Pad na die Grens* and Etienne van Heerden (1983), *My Kubaan*. These accounts include both pro- and anti-Border War perspectives. See also Roos (2008:137-157) for an extensive discussion on Border War literature.

¹⁵ See, for example, Bakkes (2008).

¹⁶ See, for example, Malan (2006), Shityuwete (1990) and Bridgland (1986).

¹⁷ See, for example, Thompson (2007), Williams (2008) and Blake (2009).

border, as Cameron Blake (2009) notes.¹⁸ He gives one account of a Cape Town Highlanders bagpipe player performing the ‘Reveille’, ‘Last Post’ and other works on the border (2009:250). Korff (2009:89, 105, 106, 110, 210, 257, 302, 306), who uses songs as subtitles for the chapters in his book, creates an awareness of music and association when he notes the names of songs connected with the military environment and military operations.¹⁹ In the latter instance, he recalls the story of a certain Lieutenant Frans Conradie making contact with the enemy with music playing at full volume (‘Bad moon rising’ or ‘Another one bites the dust’) as seen in the film *Apocalypse now* (2009:110).

Even if the general South African literature that includes music fails to provide full descriptions of music in the SADF, and mostly makes fleeting remarks about music, it is still a basic and important indication of the presence of music, the places where the music was encountered (for example, the parade ground, in training, relaxation in camps and bases), the music that soldiers listened to and the referential characteristic of music. It is also clear from these sources that music was employed as morale booster, as an instrument for propaganda purposes and as trigger of memories through its association with situations in the military.

Most South African Border War related publications feature the South African Defence Force (SADF), while there are only occasional accounts dealing with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and SWAPO. Although these sources do not form part of the central concern of my thesis, it is useful to mention a number of them as they shed some light on the uses of music within liberation movements. In his biography, Shityuwete (1990) writes that fund-raising concerts were held to bail members out of jail to enable SWAPO members to travel abroad to state their case against South Africa. Naturally, freedom songs were sung, to which he supplies occasional texts (1990:91, 107, 155). Further examples of freedom songs can be found in Janet Cherry’s (2011:28-29) overview of Umkhonto we Sizwe and in Szymczak’s (2004:83-86) account of musician Jonas Gwangwa and his involvement in the ANC and MK, and the significance of

¹⁸ See Blake (2009:25, 26, 80, 88).

¹⁹ See also Ramsden (2009:118, 171, 283).

the road show *Amandla* (which incorporated freedom songs for the MK cadres in the rest of Africa). Kellner and González's (2009) contribution to the literature pertains to the Medu Art Ensemble, which was an anti-apartheid cultural organisation, initiated by Dr Wally Serote in 1979 in Botswana.²⁰ Although these sources indicate that music, conveyed through concerts and cultural organisations, played a role in apartheid resistance, they do not directly address the topic of music and militarisation.

Outside the direct context of the Border War, two sources document the general history of military music in South Africa. Imrie (1976), provides useful information about the establishment of various military bands in South Africa, the functions of these bands, and the occasions when they performed. Examples of these included concerts, agricultural shows, outreach programmes, parades, the unveiling of memorials and recordings. While Imrie (1976) does not address the topic of music and militarisation directly, one can deduce from his overview that the South African government and SADF created specific military structures that linked with civilians, thus providing platforms for militarisation. In his description of the establishment of the Second Permanent Force Band in 1939, Imrie (1976:54) also specifically states the function of this band as a morale booster, in providing entertainment for troops and giving performances at sports meetings. This links with the topics addressed earlier in this chapter. The second general source, Henning (1984) covers a mere six pages on this topic in the four volumes of the *South African Music Encyclopaedia*, focusing mostly on the structure, repertoire and function of the bands in the Eastern Cape from 1806 to 1913. Resonating with Imrie (1976), the bands mostly provided public entertainment and performed at ceremonial functions, thus, again, linking civilian and military environments. Although these and other significant South African sources were written during a time when the militarisation of the South African population was taking place in the context of the Cold War, they neither addressed the topic of militarisation, nor linked militarisation and music. The entertainment and morale building function of South African military bands is further explicated in Bantjés (1990), who focuses on pre-Border War historical periods and the establishment of the Union

²⁰ See also Szymczak (2004:59-63) and Serote (1986:4-6; 2009:193-195).

Defence Force (UDF) Entertainment Unit (the forerunner of the SADF Entertainment Group) during the Second World War. This source, specifically, provides a useful background for the section on the SADF Entertainment Group in Chapter Eight.

The only study specifically focusing on music and the South African Border War, is Morrow (2009), who bases her research on Anthony Giddens's theory of trust in expert systems, and on Tia DeNora's theory that people use music to negotiate environments and experiences. Through her analysis of the use of music by the SABC in news bulletins, *Ride Safe* advertisements and radio music programmes (content, tone of voice, vocabulary and gender politics), she asserts that the particular music included specific aesthetic devices to establish trust in the war and the South African government's anti-communist position. Morrow's (2009), study is also useful in the way that she explores soldiers' responses to music and how they used music to negotiate their experiences of the Border War (memory, familiarity, security and continuity). The study by Michael Drewett (2008a:115-135) takes a different angle on the connection between music and the Border War. His investigation of the representation of apartheid through images, lyrics and LP record covers, reveals particular instances of militarised masculinity and support for the military effort. This is therefore an indication of apartheid constructs of society and gender roles within this particular society.

Extensive research on the topic of the South African Border War reveals very little about the role of music during the war. Where music is (briefly) mentioned, it is mostly associated with music played on cassette players, loudspeakers or the radio, and only occasionally with actual performances by troops or visiting entertainment groups.²¹ As the secondary literature did not yield substantial information pertaining to the topic of this thesis, a number of in-house publications spanning the years 1966 to 1989 were consulted; they included the ANC's *Rixaka*, *Mayibuye*, *Sechaba* and *Dawn*, the SADF's *Commando* and *Paratus*, and the *SWAPO*

²¹ See, for example, Korff (2009), De Jager (2008), Bothma (2009:101-103, 199) and Thompson (2007:67-77, 133).

Information and Comments,²² *SWAPO Information Bulletin*, *SWAPO News and Views*, and *The Namibian* newspaper (not an official SWAPO organ).²³ Even though this study is centrally concerned only with reportage from *Paratus*, these various publications provide a context for *Paratus* and will therefore also be discussed briefly.

The SADF's magazines *Paratus* (1970-1994) and its predecessor *Commando* (1949-1970) served as the military mouthpiece of the state. Visually, this monthly glossy magazine was professional, suggesting that the official apparatus (human resources and equipment) to produce *Paratus* was provided. Accompanied by photographs (initially in black and white and later also in colour), *Paratus* addressed its military and civilian readers in a formal tone in Afrikaans and English, the two official languages of the day. Following regular reports on communism in *Commando*, the earlier editions of *Paratus* focussed less on this particular topic. Generally, topics in *Commando* and *Paratus* focused on the army in general, army units, cadets, armaments, atomic energy and the Anglo-Boer War.²⁴

An initial focus on Russia was related to the Second World War, and later developed into a focus on communism, especially in reportage of the 1960s. This focus was eventually turned to terrorism and youth preparedness. Topics addressed during the 1970s included communism and the strategic importance of South Africa, the soldier and models of South African citizenship, World War Two, the need for a South African Defence Force and the contribution by the SADF. From 1978 one becomes aware of the urban black population, as well as the

²² Also available in Spanish and French (*Información y comentarios* published in Cuba and *Information et comment* published in Stockholm).

²³ These publications only represent a sample. Further publications include the SADF publications *Uniform: Koerant van die SA Leër/Newspaper of the SA Army*, *Militaria*, *Kontak 91: 'n troepe infobulletin*, *Navy news = Vlootnuus*, *In hoc signo* (Chaplains Service), and the SWAPO publications *The Combatant*, *Current events in Namibia*, *Liberation!*, *Nachrichten-Rundbrief: Namibia Communication Centre*, *Namib today: SWAPO revolutionary bulletin*, *Namibia News Digest: fortnightly summary of news reports*, *Namibia news* (published in Sweden and London), *Namibia review*, *Namibia revolution*, *Namibia today: organ of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia*, *Namibia youth: official bulletin of the SWAPO Youth League*, *Namibia*, *Namibian woman*, *Namibia-nytt: nyhetsbrev från SWAPO foreign mission to the Nordic countries*, *Nampa newsletter*, *News bulletin*, *News briefing*, *Ombuze ya Namibia*, *Omukwiita*, *Solidarity*, *South West Africa today*, *SWAPO news briefing*, *The Voice of Namibia: official organ of SWAPO-D*, and *The voice of SWAPO-D: the official organ of the SWAPO-democrats*.

²⁴ See also Warden (2017) for his analysis of *Paratus* from 1990.

revolutionary onslaught against South Africa. The 1980s increasingly focussed on youth preparedness, terrorism, the border, internal resistance, SWAPO, Cuba, and the SADF withdrawal from Angola in 1976, 1985 and 1988. Contrasting the corrupt (communism) with the upright (justifying the SADF as protector against communism), civilians from all walks of life were militarily sensitised towards endorsing SADF ideals by means of these publications. This was within the context of the communist 'Total Onslaught' against South Africa, which was prevalent in the 1970s and 1980s. Other general topics included sports events, religion (mostly supporting Christian nationalism), parades, presidential inaugurations, various military events and celebrations of important days.

How significant an impact did *Paratus* have? *Hansard* of 4 March 1969 (HA, 1969:col 1846) indicates a print run of 11 000-12 000 for *Commando*, with an annual cost of R49 000. For 1979, the SADF magazines *Paratus* and *Uniform* totalled print runs of 27 000 (R100 000) and 70 000 (R120 000) respectively, topping the list of SADF publications for that year (HA, 1980:col 750-751).²⁵ Printing costs for *Paratus* declined from 1978 (R141 000) to 1980 (R100 000), as noted in *Hansard* of 6 June 1978 (HA, 1978:col 797-798) and 23 May 1980 (HA, 1980:col 749-750). It seems reasonable to deduce that the SADF funded *Paratus*, since the 7 September 1983 issue of *Hansard* (HA, 1983:col 2087) specifies no printing costs, while SADF staff and facilities were utilised for the production of the magazine. In the December 1974 issue of *Paratus*, an issue celebrating 25 years of the magazine and its predecessor, *Commando*, Major Dirk Müller (1974:15) indicates that altogether 300 issues of the magazine were printed from December 1949 to October 1970. *Paratus* was made available to various sectors of society, which included National Servicemen, Permanent Force members, dignitaries, schools and libraries. Copies were offered free of charge to SADF members and schools. In *Hansard* of 23 April 1975 (HA, 1975:col 4702) it is noted that *Paratus* played a role in building *esprit de corps* in the SADF. At the same time, the ambition was expressed of disseminating the magazine to universities, colleges and youth organisations.²⁶ These sentiments were echoed in

²⁵ See also Moll (1981:20).

²⁶ *Hansard* of 7 September 1983, col 2087 indicates the dissemination of *Paratus* to the SADF and the public.

the May 1981 and February 1982 issues of *Paratus*, whilst including the explicit mention of advancing the image of the SADF inwards and outwards (Die nuwe *Paratus*, 1981:1; Ons Veiligheidsmagte: Nog 'n voorwaartse stap, 1982:11). The magazine also reached subscribers and military attaches in places such as the United States, France, Britain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Austria, Canada, Spain, Argentina, Israel, Australia, New Zealand and other parts of Africa (of the latter, no specific countries are mentioned).²⁷ This was confirmed in the front matter of the December 1974 issue of *Paratus* in a message by Admiral Biermann, who stated that the magazine 'has always been a factual encyclopaedia of events and developments in the South African Defence Force [...] bringing the Defence Force to the notice of the South African public as well as to the world at large' (Spesiale boodskappe, 1974:1). On page 12 of the same issue, photographic illustrations of *Commando* and *Paratus* are accompanied by the caption, 'Paratus, a household name wherever a SADF uniform is worn ... and fast becoming one elsewhere too!' One advertisement on the May 1976 issue of *Paratus* included advice for members of the public to subscribe (Só ontvang almal *Paratus* gereeld, 1976:1), while in the July 1976 issue a cartoon of someone stranded on an island, with *Paratus* being delivered, conveyed the message that the magazine could be delivered at any address (*Paratus* kom by enige adres uit, 1976:1). From April 1976, *Paratus* included inserts on the annual subscription fee for members of the public, while the contents page of the November 1976 issue explicitly notes, 'Paratus to the public'. In this issue an incidence is recorded of a standard five school learner who regularly received his copy (Skoolseun kry *Paratus* gereeld, 1977:39). P.W. Botha (1976:2) commented in the foreword of the December 1976 issue of *Paratus* that, as true reflection of the SADF, the magazine played a part in all layers of society towards striving for preparedness. Civilians were further encouraged to become acquainted with higher ranking SADF officials through *Paratus* (Opperbevel Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag, 1977:II). Over time, *Paratus*, which had become a 'household name' in South Africa, also saw increased demand

²⁷ The February 1980 issue of *Paratus* contains a letter, 'You have friends in the USA' by Chris Smith (1980:50) who studied for a trade so that he could be accepted into the SADF. Further evidence of *Paratus* circulating outside South Africa can be seen by the examples of a letter from H.E.J. Witte (1980:51), a reader from the Netherlands and an interest from the Netherlands and the United Kingdom to correspond with South Africans, as found in the May 1986 issue of *Paratus*. See also the editorial in the February 1978 issue of *Paratus* (Ons praat gesaghebbend = Our message reverberates, 1978:2).

for overseas consumption (Nog meer *Paratusse* oorsee verlang, 1977:38). The business sector also bought into *Paratus* as Dr Jan S. Marais, President of the South African Foundation (S.A. Stigting) consisting of business sector members, lauded the magazine as one of the best publications to reflect the SADF's image, whilst conveying trust from civilians (Marais, 1974:56). There is thus substantial evidence that *Paratus* was circulated to the public in ways that allow one to read its reportage as significant to processes of the militarization of civilian society. *Paratus*'s reach included a wide geography and various sectors of society, and additionally *Paratus* provided the possibility for propaganda to linger in the collective memory of South African civilians through its archival function (Müller, 1974:16). Considering all the above, it seems reasonable to assert that *Paratus* deliberately connected the public and the SADF. The first editors (from the beginning to the middle of the 1970s) were civilians who reported to a military editing committee. From May 1974, *Paratus* became a military unit when Captain Nieuwoudt was appointed as Senior Staff Officer Publications (1974:16). Nieuwoudt as Head of Publications within the Directorate Public Relations previously worked at *Die Burger* newspaper after his studies at Stellenbosch University (Hoof van Tydskrifte, 1974:1).

It is worth noting Niklas Lasswell's mass communication model, which describes the act of communication as follows: 'who [communicator] – says what [message] – in which channel [medium] – to whom [audience] – with what effect [effect]' (Lasswell, 1948:37).²⁸ In this model, communication is seen as the transmission of messages, with effect (rather than meaning) as the end result. As the individual elements change, the effect will also change (Fiske, 2011:28). Linked to this, Lasswell describes various societal roles within the communication process, which include the roles of surveying the political environment (political diplomats), correlating the response of the state to the environment (done by editors, journalists, and so forth.) and conveying responses across generations (done by educators, doctors, soldiers, and so forth) (Lasswell, 1948:37-41). Basically, this is a reciprocal process where messages from the political elite pass through editorial desks and reach large audiences

²⁸ Each role can individually be analysed as follows: communicator [control analysis], message [content analysis], medium, [media analysis], audience [audience analysis] and effect [effect analysis]'. I also take note of various media and discourse theories, but for the purpose of the discussion on *Paratus*, however, I refer to principles in the communication process, as stated by Lasswell (1948).

(masses), where further communication takes place amongst these masses, for example, in families, shops, and so forth (Lasswell, 1948:42). Looking at the case of *Paratus*, one can clearly distinguish these processes and roles where *Paratus* served as medium (in addition to other media such as broadcasting) by the apartheid government to communicate apartheid ideology to the public through the magazine's dissemination to civilian and military sectors (such as schools, libraries, universities, the business sector and SADF members), as can be seen above. Anti-communist propaganda messages, reportage on State functions, messages by State leadership and positive reportage on the SADF were constructed (encoded) in a format and language easily understood by civilians. Communication was therefore adjusted to convey the ideology of the State, and within this, *Paratus*, as mouthpiece of the state, contributed in shaping the minds of (white) South African society. This links to what McCombs (2014) describes as agenda setting. Agenda setting involves a reciprocal relationship between civilians and the media, where civilians want to orientate and inform themselves through the media, and how they, in turn, are influenced by what the media regards as relevant (2014: 63, 66-67). This entails, from the side of the media, the choice of and emphasis on certain topics (2014:132-133). Judging from the regularity of content presented in *Paratus* (as described above) as state mouthpiece that featured within the civilian and military contexts, it is clear that the agenda was tied to the apartheid state's Total Onslaught ideology and to boosting the image of the SADF.

Some characteristics of *Paratus* can be better understood when contrasted with other publications in the liberation movements. Whereas *Paratus* appears to be more professional (glossy appearance with professional photography), ANC and SWAPO publications tended to have a more 'home-made' feel to them. They are reminiscent of a fanzine style with their production in typescript with occasional photographs, disseminated through copying rather than printing. The reason for this could be the absence of infrastructure (although most of them were produced outside South Africa, especially in Europe), a lack of funding, as well as the fact that these publications were most likely underground publications suppressed by censorship, and perhaps a visual manifestation of a certain liberation movement aesthetic. In comparison to the shorter glossy magazine-style articles (with the occasional longer feature article) of *Commando* and *Paratus*, the SWAPO and ANC publications consulted contain mostly full-length analytical articles that formed the basis for political debate. In *Commando* and *Paratus*, music featured in the contexts of relaxation and ceremonial events, whereas in

the ANC and SWAPO publications music featured to a lesser extent, mostly with reference to concerts and with the occasional interview with or features on music personalities). Should one assume that music was more integral in the life of ANC and SWAPO cadres, it still has not featured more in their publications.

In contrast to the formal tone of *Paratus* and *Commando*, the ANC and SWAPO publications addressed their readers in a more emotional tone with occasional representations (remarks and cartoons) portraying the enemy as Nazis, or calling them ‘the racists’, ‘the Boers’, and so forth. These publications also conveyed stronger and more explicit political content, where aspects were overtly connected to politics (for example, the role of culture as embodying political ideology). In *Paratus*, on the other hand, the political and condescending aspects were more latent, considering that these publications were all implicitly conveying apartheid ideology. *Rixaka* (1985-1990), the cultural journal of the ANC, mostly featured poetry, short stories, dance and visual arts (e.g. wood or lino cuts to accompany the writing), with occasional reporting on music events and topics such as art against conscription, censorship, sports and culture, and the role of women. The ANC underground bulletin *Mayibuye* (1966-1994) included sections specifically on combat, advertisements for Radio Freedom, and topics on the ANC’s military offensives, sports against apartheid, the histories of resistance movements, commemorations of important events, support from religious communities and women’s roles in the liberation struggle. The publication also featured occasional reports on music and/or musicians, and on the role of culture in resistance. Some of these issues appeared irregularly, especially from late 1969 to early 1975.²⁹ The other publications, *Sechaba* (1967-1990) and *Dawn* (1977-1988), resonated with the contents of *Mayibuye*. *Dawn* further published crosswords (PolitiXword), a ‘Learn with *Dawn*’ section (on handling weapons and producing ammunition, e.g. igniters, fuses, Molotov cocktails and explosives), and articles on Black Consciousness. Clearly, the readership for the ANC publications spanned the whole array of civilian society as all citizens were regarded as potential freedom fighters. The SWAPO publication, *SWAPO Information & Comments* (published in Sweden, 1977-1984) informed its

²⁹ See *Mayibuye* (2019).

readers about SWAPO victories ('War communiqué' and 'News from the battlefield'), about the enemy, press reports (often reproduced from various other newspapers), commemorations and anniversaries of important days, and the role of the church in the struggle. Further SWAPO publications, the *SWAPO Information Bulletin* (1980-1988) and *SWAPO News and Views*, were produced in Angola and Zimbabwe respectively, and featured content on SWAPO and PLAN victories, education of civilians, atrocities by the enemy, historic events (for example, the independence struggle on the African continent, the Rivonia trial, the United Nations and independence movements), advertisements for the Voice of Namibia Radio Services, music, commemorations and anniversaries of important days and events, and also the role of the church and of women in the struggle. Although not an official organ of SWAPO (yet with a leaning towards SWAPO), *The Namibian* provided useful insights into events in Namibia and the border. Music features in various issues were mostly of a general nature, thus not necessarily in line within the ambit of this thesis. It further provided a different angle on events on the border (mostly with a focus on SADF atrocities), the relation of civilians to the war effort, conscientious objection and conscription, historic events, films, the media, commemorations and anniversaries, women in the struggle and, once again, the role of the church in the struggle. This indicates that the 'church', regardless of denomination, was present on both sides of the spectrum. Although the SADF steered away from reproducing horrific graphic content, publications from the liberation movements that feature in this study did not hesitate to publish these images as a tool to convince their audiences to participate in or support the liberation struggle. Some commonalities in topics that feature in these publications by the SADF and liberation movements include victories, enemy threats and atrocities, historic events, commemorations, anniversaries, articles on films and the media, and the role of the youth. This is an indication that both sides of the spectrum employed similar propagandistic means to convey their ideologies.

Writings on militarisation consulted for this study, generally deal with definitions of militarisation. These broadly describe militarisation as a social process (mobilisation to engage in war, thus the expansion of militarism, military power and military influence) and militarism as an ideology (justification of state violence for conflict resolution) (Cock, 1989a:2). Regan (1994:5-6) and Enloe (1983:9) concur that there is a blurring of boundaries between the military and civilian society as the gradual intrusion of the military into the civilian sphere takes place. The roots of theories on militarisation can be traced back to Lasswell's (1941)

notion of the ‘garrison state’. Civilian involvement may include endorsement by clergy, politicians and academics, the manufacture of ‘war toys’, war and the production of military-themed films (Alexandra 1993:205-206; Regan, 1994:11), and expounding military ideas further by means of television, journalism, business ventures, education and the entertainment industry as agents for promoting the militarisation of society (Regan, 1994:xiv, 10-11). Regan (1994:95-105) especially provides a solid basis for the section on militarisation in this thesis as he points to the role of militarisation in various sectors of society and the blurring of boundaries between the military and civilian spheres. Further aspects of militarisation may include the glorification of the military (Regan, 1994:xiv, 10) and the justification for war on the religious grounds of renewal and immortalisation through killing, as exemplified throughout history by certain motivated military campaigns such as the medieval Crusades, the Nationalist and Communist movements of the 19th and 20th centuries, and the current Islamist fanaticism (Megoran, 2008:476).³⁰ The glorification of the military by means of the various musical structures, is a theme that runs through this thesis. Another important aspect of the glorification of the military is the glorification of the soldier, as described in Chapter Five of this thesis. A further angle on militarisation is evident in various discussions on landscape (military strategy, terrain, and so forth), in particular battlefields and how they are employed towards identity construction. Proponents of these views include Woodward (2014), Herman (2008), Hurt (2010), Lahiri (2003), Tivers (1999), Gold and Revill (1999) and Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood (2010). By using the South African example of Isandlwana (battle between British and Zulu forces, 1879) and Scottish example of Culloden (1746), Pollard (2007:121-145) demonstrates the manipulation and use of battlefields for tourism and within varied political contexts. While the theoretical aspects of militarisation are viewed within a broader international context, authors such as Cock (1989a, 1989b), Craig (2008:59), Warwick (2009), Alexander (2000), Evans (1989) and Frankel (1984) contextualise the South African situation.

³⁰ See, for example, Riley-Smith (1977:34-53). Niditch (1993) and Bourke (1999:269-305) write about biblical references to war and the moral justification for war. Musto (1986) refers to peace in Christianity with occasional mention of waging a Just War. Dadoo (2010), Anees (2006) and Cook (2005:128-161) write about martyrdom in Islam.

As can be seen from the above outline, there are several general overviews on the topic of militarisation, even including texts on militarisation and landscape. Music, however, is not necessarily discussed directly in relation to militarisation, but rather in a military context as illustrated by, for example, Cleveland (1994), Pieslak (2009), Kartomi (2010), Jones (2006) and Watkins (2003). One cannot localise the issue of militarisation (especially as related to the Border War) without providing a general South African historical context. Issues of territory had already started playing a part with the German colonisation of South West Africa in the decades around the turn of the 20th century, but after the First World War this territory was made a South African mandate state; this lasted through to the Cold War context, which provided a backdrop for the justification of the South African Border War. While Beinart (1994), Davenport (1987) and Liebenberg and Spies (1993) provide this general background, Warwick (2009) and Alexander (2000) provide extensive overviews of militarisation in South Africa, which include the perceptions of the threat of the communist onslaught and black nationalist domination.³¹ The writings of Basson (1981), De Villiers, Metrowich and Du Plessis (1975), Harrigan (1965), Roos (1985) and Scholtz (1954, 1962, 1964, 1965) provide an insight into the shaping of public perceptions during the times that they were written. These works were aimed at the general public to warn them of the communist threat, suggesting the need to defend apartheid South Africa,³² and this is why anything relating to national security (South African Police, South African Defence Force, and the like) started playing a predominant part. In this respect, one can also include the establishment of military training facilities such as the Military Academy at Saldanha and various military gymnasia in the country (Alexander, 2000:273; Ploeger, 1971:614) and the school cadet system that received partial Defence Budget allocations and gained broader public visibility by means of school cadet competitions (Alexander, 2000:286-287; Evans, 1989:283-297; Frankel, 1984:98-100).

³¹ See also Fage (1995:460-528), Mockler (1969:157-193), Smith and Nöthling (1985:342-409), Germani (1967:130-131), Potter (1970:130-134), Wood (1989:363-365) and Shay and Vermaak (1971:79-88).

³² See Alexander (2000:270) and Harrigan (1965). See also Pike (1985) for a history of communism in South Africa.

The militarisation of South African society is also evident in civilian awareness and support for the country's military efforts, which took shape through radio request programmes,³³ the press,³⁴ films³⁵ and entities such as the Southern Cross Fund (SCF) (Conway, 2008:79; Van Heerden, 2014), which could raise funds for gifts (known amongst the soldiers as *Dankie Tannie* parcels) for the soldiers and to boost troop morale.³⁶ A portion of South African civil society that disagreed with these developments (conscription and border service) followed the route of conscientious objection, which is not the main focus of this thesis (Alexander, 2000:285-286; South African History Archive - SAHA 2015; Winkler & Nathan, 1989:324-337; Nathan, 1989:308-323).³⁷

In summation, the literature surveyed for this study can be described as follows: International secondary sources such as Kartomi (2010), Pieslak (2009), Andresen (2000), Cleveland (1994), Watkins (2003) and Kohler and VanHecke (2009) do not address the topic of music and militarisation as such and are more concerned with war, especially the large-scale conventional wars such as the First and Second World Wars, the Vietnam War and the war in Iraq. These sources structure their content mostly according to themes related to the life and experiences of the soldier. South African sources, on the contrary, are mostly generalist in nature, based on authors' personal experiences. Music is never the focus of these documents and is mostly included in cursory remarks. The few sources that do focus on music, are mostly concerned with the formation and structures of military bands and do not address the topic of militarisation and music. In the international scholarly context, there are no sources on music and militarization *per se*. Militarisation, in other words, has generally been treated as a separate

³³ Examples include *Forces Favourites* and *Springbok Rendezvous* (Conway 2008:80).

³⁴ Publications include *Paratus*, *The Warrior*, *Servamus* and *Uniform* (Cawthra, 1986:42-44). See also Craig (2008:60) and Frankel (1984:97). Erichsen (2001) gives an analysis of visual imagery in a number of these publications. Tomaselli and Louw (1988) give an overview of militarisation and control of the South African media. See also Conway (2008:76), Craig (2008:62), Drewett (2004), Jansen van Rensburg (2013) and Posel (1989). Craig (2008:62), Drewett (2004) and Jansen van Rensburg (2013) focus on censorship, while Posel (1989:262-274) illustrates the way in which township violence was portrayed by the apartheid state to justify reciprocated violence from the SAP and SADF. See also Craig (2008:62) and Windrich (2000:207) for the role of clandestine radio stations in Angola.

³⁵ See, for example, Blignaut and Botha (1992:78-80), Craig (2007, 2003) and Tomaselli (1979:40-41).

³⁶ See also Nieuwoudt (2013) in this regard and Enloe's concept of 'surrogate militarized motherhood' (Conway, 2008:79; Enloe, 1989:138).

³⁷ Nathan (1989) gives an overview of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC).

topic and has not been discussed with a focus on the role music has played in the processes of militarization. The infrastructure, circulation figures, reportage and editing practices in *Commando* and *Paratus*, as has been shown in this overview, support the view that processes of *Paratus* provide an appropriate discursive terrain for tracing the role played by music in processes of militarization during the Border War.

3 South African Border War: General background and ideological context

3.1 The Border

[...] a portable radio distorted Cyndi Lauper's song, 'Time After Time'. It had an emotional edge to it [...]. Time after time, it was patrol after patrol, ration pack after ration pack, oshana after oshana, day after endless day. It reflected the monotony, repetitiveness and pointlessness of our lives to a T (Ramsden, 2009:171).

The epigraph from Tim Ramsden's memoir of his time on 'The Border' is one of a number of recollections by individuals who served in the geographically contested area between the demarcation lines of Angola and South West Africa, now Namibia. This is the border where the South African Defence Force (SADF) and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) fought a war: one side against communism and the other for liberation from an oppressor.

David Williams (2008:16) summarises the concept of 'the border' as a term used by the South African state to refer to the idea that South African troops were defending the borders of the country rather than defending the South African border in foreign territory.³⁸ Based on Charles Tilly's point that 'States make war, and war makes the state',³⁹ where the state controls a specific geographical area by force, Baines (2008:2) refers to the notion of South Africa as a 'bounded state' with borders that kept certain individuals in and others out. Other terms that have been used for this war include 'Border War', 'Angolan War', 'Bush War'. The SWAPO perspective, 'War of (National) Liberation', also creates a division between white authors who

³⁸ See also Batley (2007:10-11).

³⁹ Baines (2008:2) refers to Charles Tilly's (1990) *Coercion, capital and European states, AD 990-1992*, of which Chapter Three is entitled 'Wars make states and vice versa'.

use the term ‘Border War’ and academics who avoid this term because of its apartheid connotation (Baines, 2008:8).⁴⁰

The concepts of ‘border’ and ‘frontier’, with related but differing meanings and connotations, emerged through a reading of the literature on the Border War. The colonial ‘frontier’ indicates the expansion of ‘civilization’ (implying interaction with and confrontation of the ‘other’) and this fed into the apartheid ideology of the border as an outcome (a recognised boundary) (Rogez, 2008:127-128). As will be seen below, the notion of ‘the border’ conveys literal, figurative, psychological, topographical and geographical meanings and features. The liberation movements also contributed to meaning of the demarcated area known as ‘the border’, as Baines (2008:4) describes the ‘defensive Namibé-Lubango-Menongue line’ about 250 km from the Namibian border, constructed by FAPLA⁴¹ and the Cuban forces. The Jati strip,⁴² also known as the ‘kaplyn’ or ‘cut-line’, was a cleared and uninhabited area between Angola and South West Africa (SWA) where no one could enter (Baines, 2008:4; De Visser, 2011:93-94; Ramsden, 2009:84), splitting families residing on either side of this area causing much discontent amongst local inhabitants (De Visser, 2011:93-94; Steenkamp, 1989:12).⁴³ This was also known as the ‘operational area’ (Baines, 2008:5; Cawthra, 1986:194) and consisted of three zones: Sector 10 (Ovamboland and Kaokoland, with Headquarters in Oshakati), Sector 20 (Kavango and Western Caprivi, with Headquarters in Rundu) and Sector 70 (Eastern Caprivi to the Zambezi river, with Headquarters in Katima Mulilo) (Cawthra,

⁴⁰ See also Liebenberg, Du Plessis and Van der Westhuizen (2010:134). I shall be using the term, ‘Border War’, as it is most commonly used in secondary literature consulted for this study.

⁴¹ Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola = People’s Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA).

⁴² Alternative spelling as ‘Yati’. See Ramsden (2009:84). This clearance of lands appears to be an outcome of the work of counterinsurgency warfare author John McCuen with regard to controlled movement, zones and curfews to break the grip of the enemy (De Visser, 2011:93).

⁴³ The cleared area where ‘army and police forces were instructed to shoot and kill anyone found in the cleared zone’ (Cawthra, 1986:181-182, referring to the *Windhoek Advertiser*, 8 July 1976) ran 2 000 km along the Angolan border. It was estimated that between forty and fifty thousand South West Africans were removed and resettled in SADF-controlled ‘protected villages’ in a matter of three months (Cawthra, 1986:181-182). Various atrocities took place in these northern territories, which included rape and torture (1986:210-215). Koevoet members were, for example, offered *kopgeld* [payment] for every person killed (1986:210). See also De Visser (2011:93) in this regard.

1986:194-195);⁴⁴ Most military activity took place in Sector 10, which had a number of permanent army and police bases (1986:194). As early as 1973 South Africa had been expanding its military presence on the border, which spanned the 460 km strip of land from the Kunene River in the west to the Kavango River in the east. This assumed the dual functions of defence against external threats and maintenance of internal stability in South West Africa from 1974 (Blake, 2009:274). This particular concern with internal stability informs the processes of militarisation by the SADF. Cawthra (1986:226) describes a ‘ring of steel’ along the Zimbabwean border which was characterised by sisal planted along this border, patrol roads and a clearance of land within 10 km of the South African border. This strip was later widened to 50 km (1986:227) and enforced by an electrified fence (1986:228).⁴⁵ White farmers living near these areas received weapons as well as subsidies for mine-proofed vehicles and security items on their properties (1986:228). (Steenkamp, 1989:12) notes that on a map the border was a straight line, a ‘typical colonial boundary’ that ran from east to west in northern South West Africa. This was described as, a ‘desert terrain, with blinding white sand and scorching heat’ (Batley, 2007:9). Although Bakkes’s (2008:11, 18-19) description gives the impression of a varied landscape (subtropical), he still noted the white chalk and dust as he drove through the area. A further visual impression of the border, as noted by South African musician Karin Hougaard (2017) was that ‘everything was brown [and] camouflaged’.⁴⁶

Apart from this geographical demarcation line, there were also other dividing lines during this war: dividing lines of race, language and religion (Williams, 2008:19-20).⁴⁷ There were specific units for people of colour: 32 Battalion, Cape Corps, 101 Battalion (Zulus), Bushman trackers and Indians in the Navy (SAS Jalsena) (Williams, 2008:19-20). The white population was divided along the language lines of Afrikaans and English speakers (Williams, 2008:20).⁴⁸

⁴⁴ With the intensification of the Border war by 1977 and with the increasing accumulation of enemy forces on the border, South Africa strengthened its position and also zoned the operational area into a new security structure from 1981 with Sector 10 that was 700 km in length, Sector 20 that was 250 km in length and Sector 70, which was 150 km in length (Blake, 2009:275). See also Steenkamp (1989:194) for the sector demarcations.

⁴⁵ See also ‘Insure your lives with the forces of progress’ (1982:2-3).

⁴⁶ ‘Ja, jy weet bruin, alles was bruin. Alles was gekamoefleer’ (Hougaard, 2017).

⁴⁷ See also Vale (2008:23-25).

⁴⁸ See also Warwick (2009:287-404), Bakkes (2008:20-21, 70) and Batley (2007:9).

Other intersections revolved around the defence of Western civilization against Communism (Williams, 2008:20; Conway, 2008:76; Vale, 2008:25, 27), i.e. the divide between East and West during the Cold War (Vale, 2008:23-24). Locally these divisions manifested in South Africa broadly in terms of a privileged white minority and a deprived black majority. Paralleling this divide, the West supported the white minority and the Soviet Union supported the black majority intellectually, militarily and financially (Vale, 2008:22).

Logistically and psychologically, the border for white South Africans was ‘far away from home’ – somewhere unfamiliar, which was represented by the phrase ‘somewhere on the border’ (Williams, 2008:16) and used repeatedly in radio request programmes.⁴⁹ Although these areas could be designated by co-ordinates (Baines, 2008:5; Conway, 2008:76-77), knowledge of these areas still remained vague to the white South African home front. This vagueness was further maintained by censorship of the South Africa Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) (Williams, 2008:16). While conscripts considered defending the country’s borders as their duty (Baines, 2008:7), the home front regarded the border as something mysterious, distant and heroic (Conway, 2008:76-77). ANC and SWAPO publications most likely played on the concept of ‘the border’ with phraseology such as ‘somewhere in Mozambique’ (Confrontation! The battle lines are drawn up, 1967:1), ‘somewhere in the bush’ (The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, 1981:21) and ‘somewhere in the jungles’ (Peterson, 1972:9). Regular features in liberation movement publications also appeared under the titles ‘From the Front’ in *Sechaba*⁵⁰ and ‘From the war zone’ in *Mayibuye*.⁵¹ Other examples include ‘PLAN-reports’ in *SWAPO Information & Comments*⁵² and ‘War communique’ in the *SWAPO Information*

⁴⁹ Typically, these would include radio request programmes, such as *Forces Favourites* hosted by Patricia Kerr (Conway, 2008:76-77) and *Springbok Rendezvous* hosted by Esmé Euvrard. See also the section on Broadcasting in this study (Chapter Six).

⁵⁰ See, for example, ‘From the Front: Fierce fighting over extended front as ANC-ZAPU guerrillas press home attack’ (1967:4-6).

⁵¹ See, for example, ‘From the war zone’ (1967:19-20). See also ‘Fighting talk: Where is the front line?’ (1968:11-12) and ‘News from the war front’ (1967:2-4).

⁵² See, for example, ‘PLAN-reports: Editorial: Inside the semi-liberated areas’ (1981:3-4). See also ‘War communique, June July 1981’ (1981:19) and ‘News from the battlefield: A knock-out attack’ (1981:5-7) and ‘Summary of PLAN combat highlights from 3 January to 30 July’ (1985:11-27).

Bulletin.⁵³ Baines (2008:10) wrote that the National Party (NP) government withheld information regarding casualties on the border and that troops were not regularly informed about the objectives of military operations. One example is Pik Botha's public denial of the presence of South African soldiers in Angola (Bothma, 2009:46) with the notorious statement, 'Ek ontken kategorieë dat daar enige Suid-Afrikaners in Angola is' ['I deny categorically that there are any South Africans in Angola'] (Blake, 2009:186). 'The border' was also imagined in music, as in the song, 'Grenslied: Lied van die grenssoldaat' (a march, 'stripped of all sentimentality').⁵⁴ This work was first performed by the Stellenbosch University Choir in the Presidential residence on 3 May 1979 (De Villiers & De Villiers, 1979:26) and was later translated into English by Gideon Roos of SAMRO as the 'Border song' (Die 'Border Song' maak Gideon Roos gelukkig, 1980:41). The February 1981 issue of *Paratus* featured an additional verse to the 'Border song' to include the SA Navy (Border song's new verse rides the crest of the wave, 1981:49).

[Examples on next page]

⁵³ See, for example, 'War communiqué: 28 racist soldiers killed and war materials captured or destroyed in PLAN blitz' (1983:30) and 'War communiqué: Boers catch hell in 1983' (1983:15-16).

⁵⁴ Translation by author.

GRENSLIED - Lied van die Grens-soldaat.

Do/ de Villiers (1979) [Sesnyf (in opdrag van die Administrateurs van van Kaapland) vir die S.A. Nagmaal.] D. K. de Villiers (1979).

Marstempo

(Alle stemme fluit die wysie van die leiding)

f

1. Saak soos gra-niet is die wil om te le-we, hup in my sui-der-land.
 2. Lank is die nag-te van een-se-me wag-staan, ver van my men-se tuis.

mf

1. Vry soos die wind wat cheer sing oor die vlak-tes, vry van 'n vreem-de hand.
 2. Sien ek neer vlug-lig die lie-we ge-bis-tes, dan al ons weer saam by die huis.

mp

1. mag-te van on-hail be-droeg nou die vre-de, gren-se word rook-boos ge-breek.
 2. Slui-penite boos-heit ver-jag gou die beel-de, skend-boos my kind en my vrou.

mf

Handwritten musical score for 'Grenslied' (Border song). The score is written on four systems of staves, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in Afrikaans and include phrases like 'Hard slaan ons vuis-hou, ver-plet-ter die vy-and-- on-ry me doen-las ge-Wreek.' and 'Breed vir die vy om ons er-fe-nis te hou, doods-er-ag-tend in die'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'f' and 'rit.'

Figure 2: 'Grenslied' ['Border song'] (De Villiers & De Villiers, 1979:26).

Its text typically focuses on the communist threat and the justification of defending white South African civilization against this perceived threat. In the first verse the text focuses on landscape and the geographical aspects ('Suiderland', 'vlaktes' – 'Southern land', 'plains')⁵⁵ along with the nation (free from contamination by the enemy) inhabiting the geographical space. This narrative progresses to an ethical violation by the enemy threatening the inhabitants of the specific geographical space ('magte van onheil' – 'dark are the forces') and recklessly breaching borders ('grense word roekeloos gebreek' – 'borders are recklessly broken'). However, the enemy could be overcome and crushed, as the inhabitants of this space celebrate victory through bravery ('Hard slaan ons vuishou, verpletter die vyand' – 'Ours is the courage triumphant to crush them, ruthless the strength of our arm'), to preserve the people's heritage ('reg om ons erfenis te hou' – 'For the right of our heritage anew') as they will fearlessly prevail in battle ('Doodsveragterend in die stryduur' – 'Scorning danger, proud and fearless'). Where the first verse sets the scene, the second verse focuses on the soldier protecting the vulnerable ones (child and wife) from the enemy. Militaristic elements in the music itself include the setting of the music as a march in the heroic key of E-flat major, which later modulates to the dominant key of B-flat major and its dominant key of F-minor. While the dotted rhythms accentuate the idea of a march, the fanfare-like broken chord-like melody and triplets add to the militaristic flavour of the work. A modal interchange (B-flat to F-minor) and change in dynamic to *piano* take place at 'magte van onheil' ['forces of evil'] to highlight the ominously looming threat. Metric emphasis of words take place at '**wil** om te lewe, **hier** in my Suiderland' to illustrate the will to fight for South Africa and to maintain Afrikaner culture. Further tools to emphasise words are the harmony at '**sing** oor die vlaktes' and rhythm 'om ons **erfenis te hou**', whilst rhyming words at the end of phrases are emphasised by means of longer note values ('land' and 'hand', 'breek' and 'wreek', 'hou' and 'trou'). These words convey the general idea that the land should not end up in the hands of a vengeful enemy, which will be overcome in the fight to maintain the freedom of white South Africa. At 'tot die einde toe getrou' ('Faithful unto death and true'), the rest symbol at the repetition of the same phrase 'tot die einde [rest] getrou'

⁵⁵ English translations in brackets from text provided by *Paratus*. See Addendum for Afrikaans and English versions of the 'Border song'.

emphasises the idea of a committed loyalty. The first instance of this expression contains an interrupted cadence in anticipation of the repetition to come. The fortissimo at ‘hard slaan ons vuishou’ metaphorically mirrors the text which spells out forceful retaliation. Back in the tonic (E-flat major), the accompaniment is a broad and more relaxed melodic structure to emphasise the notion of being committed to maintain the status quo. The work typically ends with a predictable high note cliché.⁵⁶

Interestingly, the term ‘Border War’ was not used by the South African government of the day; it was used by the public and mainstream media from the perspective that the country was being defended from attack by the enemy (Baines, 2008:7). The necessity to defend the border seemed to have been obvious amongst most of the white South African population – a position that seems to have enhanced receptiveness to the militarisation of society (Conway, 2008:75). While the SADF ‘defended’ the northern border, other lesser defined borders within society emerged.

3.1.1 Borders within borders

As political resistance by anti-apartheid movements intensified in South Africa, troops were also deployed in townships from 1984 (Cawthra, 243-247, 250; Stemmet, 2006),⁵⁷ leading to the declaration of a State of Emergency in 1985 (Cawthra, 1986:247-256; Cloete, 2009:46; Williams, 2008:97-99),⁵⁸ thereby transferring the symbolic notion of ‘the border’ to urban areas within the country (Baines, 2008:5; Cloete, 2009:48) and undergirding the process of social militarisation.⁵⁹ The State of Emergency ended in March 1986 (Cawthra, 1986:256).

⁵⁶ See also Karbusicky (1975:361-367), Lüdemann (2003:13-41), Schutte and Viljoen (2017) and Schutte (2015:371-400) for models of analysing patriotic music.

⁵⁷ The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) produced a number of posters objecting to the presence of the troops in the townships; examples include: ‘Wat soek jy in die townships troepie?’ and ‘Troops out of the townships’. See South African History Archive (SAHA, 2015).

⁵⁸ See also Blake (2009:277-280). See also Stemmet (2006:188-189) for a message from SADF Chief Jan Geldenhuys to troops in the townships that appeared in *Paratus* Vol. 37, July 1986.

⁵⁹ See Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s statement in the TRC report about ‘the border in our midst’ (Truth and Reconciliation Commission Special Submission on Conscription, 1997) and the ECC posters reading: ‘Where’s the border now?’ (SAHA, 2015).

On 22 October 1984, under the banner of Operation Palmiet, houses were searched while the SAP and SADF handed out pamphlets and stickers to township residents, reading: ‘Trust me, I am your friend’,⁶⁰ ‘Unite for safer community’, ‘Go back to school’ and so forth. This was followed by post-Operation Palmiet leaflets thanking township residents for their cooperation (Cawthra, 1986:244-245). Typical sights of police and army vehicles (Casspirs and Buffels), with soldiers and policemen responsible for breaking up gatherings, destroying barricades, pacifying township residents with teargas and other means were the order of the day (Cawthra, 1986:251-256).⁶¹ These raids also provided an opportunity for spreading propaganda by means of leaflets, toy models of army vehicles and playing occasional soccer games with township children (Cawthra, 1986:252).⁶² Four questionnaire respondents indicated that they engaged in military activities in the townships of Khayelitsha, Crossroads, Thokhoza, Kathlehong, Motherwell, Soweto, Chesterville, Lamontville, Umlazi, Kwamashu and Kwandabele. Music that played a role in their engagements in townships included contemporary music and the *Live Aid* concert music (Thorpe, 2016), popular music from Radio 5, and sound cassettes and music performed in camps (SADF Soldier 6, 2016), which allowed them to relax between patrols and action (SADF Soldier 6, 2016; Thorpe, 2016) or gave hope (Thorpe, 2016). It is this spreading of the field of operations of resistance and counter-resistance that provides the context for initiatives by the South African government to expand the militarisation of society during the period of the Border War. These initiatives, with specific reference to music and how these initiatives are revealed in the literature, are explored in this thesis. To adequately do so, the reader might need to familiarise themselves with historical context.

⁶⁰ ANC stickers were produced to counter these efforts by the SADF (Sticker art, 1986:25-26).

⁶¹ Bertie Cloete (2009:46-48) gives a personal account of township duty. During a particular occasion described by him, he witnessed a necklacing incident. ‘Necklacing’ involves putting a petrol-drenched tyre around a person to be set alight, leading to the death of the victim. See also Ramsden (2009:59).

⁶² Besides being involved in house raids searching for banned print materials relating to the ANC, Ramsden (2009:61-64) also has positive recollections of his township duty in Tembisa, where they played soccer with the children, and of the hospitality of residents. He also recollects an occasion where Cyndi Lauper’s ‘Girls just want to have fun’ was played through a speaker, ‘turning the room into a dance floor. It seemed strange to be listening to a song that had originated in New York, only to be appreciated in one of the poorest areas of South Africa’ (2009:62).

3.2 Background and historical overview

The concept of ‘the border’ has to be understood within the context of the various liberation wars fought from the 1950s. 1960 marks a time when African countries became independent in increasing numbers, hence Bunche (Hofmann, 1960) and Shubin’s (2008:1) term ‘Africa Year’ or ‘Year of Africa’.⁶³ The first country in the 1960s to set this process in motion was the Congo (Shubin, 2008:2). Liberation struggles that followed included those by the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in 1961 and 1964 respectively (Cawthra, 1986:17),⁶⁴ the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) commencing their liberation struggle, in 1966 (Cawthra, 1986:17),⁶⁵ and the South West African People’s Organisation (SWAPO) in 1966.

In 1884 Namibia, with the exception of Walvis Bay, became a German colony and was known as German South West Africa (Du Pisani, 1986:22-23; Jaenecke, 1987:197).⁶⁶ During World War I the Union of South Africa sided with Britain and invaded German South West Africa in 1915 (Du Pisani, 1986:46-47; Davenport, 1987:271-273; Steenkamp, 1989:12). Signing the Peace Treaty of Versailles (28 June 1919) at the end of the War, Germany surrendered German South West Africa (Du Pisani, 1986:48-49), after which South Africa was appointed by the League of Nations to administer South West Africa (SWA) as a class C mandate ‘for the

⁶³ See also Fage (1988:460-490) and Smith and Nöthling (1993:342-409). Although this section focuses mostly on developments from 1960 and later, it is evident that protest movements had already started in the previous century. Davenport (1987:231-233) writes about developments from the late-1800s with political movements and, in some instances, their support from independent churches. Political movements not linked to religious organisations include, amongst others, the South African Native Congress (1892) (Enoch Mamba’s Transkei Native Vigilance Association), and the ‘coloured’ African Political Organisation (APO) of 1902, which later became the African People’s Organisation. See also Davenport (1987:109).

⁶⁴ Following armed struggles that commenced in the 1960s, both Angola and Mozambique gained independence from Portugal in 1975 (Jacobs, 2009:285).

⁶⁵ Zimbabwe gained its independence on 18 April 1980 with Robert Mugabe as president (Jaenecke, 1987:186). See also ‘Origins of the Zimbabwe people’s struggle’ (1978:45-55).

⁶⁶ See Steenkamp (1989:10-12), Cawthra (1986:179) and Jaenecke (1987:201-204) about the German occupation and brutality towards Africans during the German occupation in South West Africa.

betterment of its inhabitants' (Steenkamp, 1989:12).⁶⁷ The 'betterment of its inhabitants' clearly did not extend to the local populations of Namibia, as is apparent by the suppression of the Bondelswarts Nama group, which led to the Bondelswarts Rebellion in 1922 (Davenport, 1987:278-279; Du Pisani, 1986:92-100; Gordon, 2005:1068). Under increasing pressure during the 1920s and 1930s from the white population in South Africa, and later after the Second World War, South Africa constantly sought to incorporate SWA as a fifth province, but to no avail (Steenkamp, 1989:12).⁶⁸ South Africa continued administering South West Africa, regardless of numerous efforts for Namibian independence.⁶⁹ This led to guerrilla warfare by SWAPO on 26 August 1966 (Ramsden, 2009:77; Shityuwete, 1990:145).⁷⁰ In due course, various peace agreements were signed, which included the Lusaka Accord between South Africa, the USA and Angola in 1984 (Steenkamp, 1989:117-123)⁷¹ and the Nkomati Accord between Mozambique and South Africa (16 March 1984) (Cawthra, 1986:142, 165-168; Davenport, 1987:503-504; Shubin, 2008:144).⁷² After a proposal for a ceasefire, South African

⁶⁷ Ramsden (2009:77) gives the date of South Africa administering Namibia as 1921. Du Pisani (1985:52), however, points out that the Union of South Africa accepted mandatory power on 7 May 1919, that the mandate was signed on 17 December 1920, but that it appeared only in the South African Government Gazette on 17 June 1921. The mandate stipulated that South Africa had to report to the League of Nations annually (Steenkamp, 1989:12). See Du Pisani (1986:51) for a classification of the mandate system.

⁶⁸ By giving the examples of SWA Members of Parliament serving in the South African Parliament, the participation of the SWA rugby team in the Currie Cup and Afrikaans as a dominant language, Williams (2008:16) emphasizes that SWA was treated as a de facto fifth province of South Africa. On the incorporation of South West Africa as fifth province, see also Du Pisani (1985:107-128).

⁶⁹ For descriptions of these events, see Cawthra (1986), Davenport (1987), Du Pisani (1986:315-321), Saunders (2005a:1066, 2005b:1070), Shityuwete (1990) and Steenkamp (1989).

⁷⁰ It was only in 1973, according to Steenkamp (1989:23, 26), that the SADF was employed at the border. Steenkamp (1989:26) mentions that the date was set for 1 April 1974 and that the SADF started arriving in the operational area during the second half of 1973. Cawthra (1986:19) gives this date as January 1972. Williams (2008:17) gives the date of June 1974 as the SADF's first border war casualty with the death of Lieutenant Freddie Zeelie, through the circumstances of his death were kept secret. See also Els (2007). Steenkamp (1989:18) traces the South West African insurgencies back to 1957 with the founding of SWAPO as the Ovambo People's Organisation (OPO). He (1989:18) suggests that the OPO later became the Ovambo People's Congress before the eventual name change to SWAPO.

⁷¹ See also Cawthra (1986:156), Heitman (1990:11-12) and Ramsden (2009:78).

⁷² Davenport (1987:503-504) gives an account of events leading to the signing of the Nkomati Accord, which includes the visit to South Africa of Chester Crocker (American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs). He also points out limitations of the agreement. See also Armon, Hendrickson and Vines (1998:35-37), Ramsden (2009:294), Cawthra (1986:142, 165-168), Shubin (2008:145) and 'The Nkomati Talks' (1984). A Radio Freedom interview with Chris Hani in a 1984 issue of *Mayibuye* pointed out the negative impact of this agreement for liberation movements (Our rear bases are the people, 1984:4-5).

withdrawal and elections supervised by the UN in 1978 (Shubin, 2008:221; United Nations, 1978), Resolution 435 (UNSCR 435) was implemented on 1 April 1989 (Lord, 2008:215; Steenkamp, 1989:180).⁷³ On 21 March 1990 Namibia became independent (Blake, 2009:276; Korff, 2009:15; Saunders, 2005b:1071; Shubin, 2008:235).

In South Africa, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the ANC, commenced their armed struggle and acts of sabotage on 16 December 1961, subsequent to the Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960, where 69 people were killed during protests against pass laws imposed by the apartheid government (Cherry, 2011:14; Davenport, 1987:395, 402; Matthews, 1967:9-10; Warwick, 2009:15, 200).⁷⁴ During the 1970s guerrilla activities increased (Davenport, 1987:428), while it was still evident that South African and SWAPO forces were active in Angola during the 1980s.

The increasing unrest following the Sharpeville massacre, growing African nationalism, brutalities against whites in the Congo and Angola (Warwick, 2009:54), and violent acts committed by the PAC military wing *Pogo* against whites in South Africa (Warwick, 2009:183-186; Davenport, 1987:402-403; Beinart, 1994:212) contributed to the threat perceptions for the

⁷³ Further skirmishes between SWAPO and South Africa were reported. See Steenkamp (1989:180-184), Lord (2008:215) and Shubin (2008:232-233). Steenkamp (1989:116-125) gives an overview of the process of peace talks and the possibility of implementing Resolution 435. See also Heitman (1990:285-309) about the peace negotiations and skirmishes between South Africa, Cuba and Angola. See also United Nations (1978). Through the years, from 1957 when a new Defence Act was launched and amended under B.J. Vorster (Davenport, 1987:403-404),⁷³ and under the leadership of P.W. Botha as Defence Minister from 1966, the SADF was increasingly expanded (Cawthra, 1986:21). The final days of the South African Border War concluded with the battle at Cuito Cuanavale, which lasted from 1987 to 1988.

⁷⁴ The African National Congress (ANC), for example, established a political office in Maputo in Mozambique in 1975, where Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres started infiltrating into South Africa in 1976 and 1977 (Jacobs, 2009:285). The establishment of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in 1966 also opened doors for MK to infiltrate into South Africa via Rhodesia, collaborating with Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas in 1967 (Cawthra, 1986:17). Shubin (2008:63, 73) refers to the presence of Zairean forces in Angola. It is also known that SWAPO was active in Angola with bases at Cassinga and Chetequera (Steenkamp, 1989:75-77). Steenkamp (1989:75-78) refers to South African Operation Reindeer and attacks on these two bases. Cassinga is also a contentious issue, with contradictory narratives of military skill and civilian mortalities caused by the air raid on Cassinga in 1978. It is said that the SADF executed an air raid on the town of Cassinga, implying that civilians were attacked, hence the use of the term 'Cassinga massacre'. This opinion is countered by the notion of SWAPO's strong military defence of Cassinga, suggesting that there was a key SWAPO base located there. See Williams (2008:83-88) and Shubin (2008:225-226) in this respect. See also Williams (2008:83-88), Cawthra (1986:149) and Lord (2008:63).

apartheid government.⁷⁵ The internal security threat for South Africa led to further measures such as more stringent censorship by various means such as banning films that were considered damaging to state security and the morals of society (Davenport, 1987:403).⁷⁶ The establishment of the Press Board of Reference in 1962 and the drawing up of a code of conduct for dealing with complaints of misreporting, contributed to circumventing direct governmental control of the press. Yet the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) soon aligned itself with government policies, taking on a more active role in censorship (Davenport, 1987:403).

3.2.1 Cold War: Ideological context

The Cold War conflict between the United States and Russia had far-reaching global effects that also extended into Africa where vulnerable states were controlled by means of financial and military assistance and propaganda. Global participation was also divided along the lines of these two major world powers. As the apartheid government supported the United States, they found ways to influence the public accordingly. White South African civilians were persistently warned against the communist threat through newspaper reports (Warwick, 2009:170), radio broadcasts (Morrow, 2009:29-33, 39-40) and publications such as those of nationalist intellectual Gert Daniel Scholtz (Warwick, 2009:163-170),⁷⁷ and a number of later publications.⁷⁸ Essentially, these publications informed readers about the devious methods of

⁷⁵ The late 1960s also saw the introduction of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), with Steve Biko as leader, which was a combination of ANC and PAC members (Jaenecke, 1987:182-183). Jaenecke (1987:182-183) also refers to students from multiracial backgrounds who left the 'liberal racist' BCM to establish the South African Students Organisation (SASO) – also with Steve Biko at the forefront. Steve Biko was imprisoned on 14 August 1977 and died four weeks later (1987:185).

⁷⁶ For music that was banned, see Drewett (2004).

⁷⁷ Publications by Scholtz include: *Het die Afrikaner volk 'n toekoms?* ['Does the Afrikaner nation have a future?'] (1954); *'n Swart Suid-Afrika?* ['A black South Africa?'] (1964); *Die stryd om die wêreld: Rusland en die kommunisme* ['The struggle for the world: Russia and communism'] (1962) and *Die bedreiging van die liberalisme* ['The danger of liberalism'] (1965).

⁷⁸ See, for example, *Die kommunisme in aksie* (De Villiers, Metrowich, & Du Plessis, 1975), *Geestelike weerbaarheid teen ideologiese terrorisme* (Roos, 1985), *Kommunisme en opvoeding* (Basson, 1981) and a number of articles in *Commando* and *Paratus*. See, for example, the May and August 1967 issues of *Commando* about the war in Angola (Die oorlog in Angola, 1967a:34-35, Die oorlog in Angola, 1967b:17), Communist strategies (Juta, 1968: 17-18, 64), brutalities in Africa (Eksteen, 1969: 11, 13), 'The need for a SA Defence Force' (1974:2-3) and 'Swapo: Coldblooded murderers by their own admission' (1982:23).

communism to infiltrate society (De Villiers, Metrowich & Du Plessis 1975:8) using, amongst others, psychological attacks which included, art and music (Roos, 1985:81-100).⁷⁹ The idea of self-preservation in the context of constant attack from and potential destruction by a communist enemy was instilled to justify the war effort under the banner of self-defence. And so, the South African government used writings on the prevalence of violence on the African continent to try and justify the war against a common enemy, SWAPO, using communism as the scapegoat. This is reminiscent of how the Nazis, created a common enemy, the Jews, through anti-Semitism and how the Hutus, in the Rwandan war, created the perception that the Tutsis were a common enemy.⁸⁰

Radio stations, and in particular the SABC, portrayed the Russians, liberation movements and groups subscribing to similar policies as immoral, devious and dangerous (Morrow 2009:32). Propaganda about communism in Africa and the 'Total Onslaught' also reached civilians via the SADF magazines, *Commando* and *Paratus*.⁸¹ The anti-communist message was reinforced through films such as *Kaptein Caprivi* (1972) (Vale, 2008:36).⁸² In films such as *Bastion of the South* or *Vesting in die Suide*, (Warwick, 2009:438), and on the radio (Morrow 2009:40), the SADF was portrayed as the protector of South Africa against communism. The phrase 'Dark are the forces that menace our country' from the 'Border song' by Doll and Dirkie de Villiers (1979:26; Die 'Border Song' maak Gideon Roos gelukkig, 1980:41), as discussed earlier, is characteristic of apartheid thinking regarding the belief in the need to fight the 'dark forces' of communism. The 'Border Song' (1980:41), further highlights the need for a protector, the SADF. The image of protector was also projected by means of ceremony and spectacle during public occasions such as the 1966 Republic Day parade (Warwick, 2009:430,439; Staggering

⁷⁹ According to Bothma (2009:142), school children learned during Youth Preparedness sessions about the communist onslaught, which corrupted the morals of society, through publications such as *Scope* magazine and photographic novels. He (2009:141-142) writes about an occasion where he listened to a speech by John Vorster in 1971 during the tenth anniversary of the Republic, which warned attendees against the 'Total Onslaught', and confirming the country's riches in minerals and the importance of the sea route around the Cape. See also P.W. Botha's speech about the 'Total Onslaught' in Bothma (2009:46-47).

⁸⁰ For more on the Rwandan situation, see Human Rights Watch (2006).

⁸¹ See also De Visser (2011:88) in this regard.

⁸² From interviews with former SADF soldiers, it is evident that they were exposed to popular films of the time, as well as to films with military themes such as *Apocalypse now*, *Grensbasis 13*, *Brug 14* and *Kaptein Caprivi*.

SADF parade, 1966:6-36). Soldiers were tasked to protect families, wives, mothers, girlfriends and sisters from the ravages of communism (Drewett, 2008b:94-95). South African soldiers were therefore performing their patriotic duty to fight for the *Vaderland* [Fatherland] (Batley, 2007:8) against the purported threat from SWAPO to eliminate whites in South Africa. A belief of ‘God on [their] side’ exclusively (Batley, 2007:14)⁸³ stemmed from the government’s use of religion to convey apartheid ideology.⁸⁴

Similarly, anti-communist rhetoric was directed towards SWAPO, which was depicted as ‘Marxist, anti-Christian and corrupt’, along with the UN (De Visser 2011:88; Warwick, 2009:170-172) and the World Council of Churches (De Visser 2011:88).⁸⁵ It was maintained that Russia brainwashed Africans to believe Angola and South West Africa were to become communist utopias, therefore needing to maintain ‘Western ideology’ (Warwick, 2009:19, 156-157; Ramsden, 2009:145)⁸⁶. Attempts to curb communism in South Africa included the ‘African Charter’ under the Malan government (Davenport, 1987:478; Vale, 2008:27-28), the Suppression of Communism Act (1950)⁸⁷ and the closing of the Soviet Consulate-General in Pretoria in 1956 (Davenport, 1987:476).

Karen Batley (2007:7, 18) reads South Africa’s struggle against communism in the light of Joseph Campbell’s example of the ‘mythical hero’ as ‘warrior’. Under the banner of ‘Total Onslaught’ the South African government justified the border war against communism (Batley, 2007:7). As Minister of Defence by 1966, P.W. Botha’s speeches frequently included the

⁸³ This is also a reference to the 1965 Bob Dylan anti-war song, ‘With God on our side’.

⁸⁴ The government of the day employed religion to convey its ideology. On Sundays, for example, church parades were held on the border, which followed situation reports that investigated the total kills in order to set new targets. The service included prayers for the right decisions to be made by the government and the destruction of the *Swart Gevaar* [Black Threat]. The Chaplain would then pray for many kills for the week in the name of the church (Blake, 2009:173). Williams (2008:31) also notes the presence of Anglican Chaplains, a Catholic Priest, a Rabbi and individuals from the ‘Free Churches’ (‘all the others’) who were dressed in a similar way. The anti-communist rhetoric employed by the National party silenced questions pertaining to the integrity of National Service (Blake, 2009:269).

⁸⁵ De Visser (2011:88) refers to the *White Paper on Defence and Armaments Supply 1979* at the Department of Defence Archives in Pretoria, 1979:1.

⁸⁶ While Warwick (2009) draws attention to various political threats facing South Africa during the 1960s, he frequently refers to the communist threat for white South Africans.

⁸⁷ See Republic of South Africa (1950).

concept of a ‘Total Onslaught’;⁸⁸ it is evident that this view, informed by the Cold War paradigm, was already prevalent in apartheid security planning in the 1950s and 1960s (Cawthra, 1986:27). Academic and scholarly communities played an important role in the construction of a ‘Total Onslaught’ mentality (Vale, 2008:31-32) as issues related to communism were discussed at various symposia.⁸⁹

In the discussion above ‘communism’ was considered the enemy of the state. However, the embodiment of the enemy through ‘foot soldiers’ needs to be understood. The Terrorism Act provided a definition of the enemy, specifically of the word ‘terrorist’, as someone who intended to, who incited or participated in military training, and who possesses arms to ‘endanger the maintenance of law and order’ (Republic of South Africa, 1967). Bothma (2009:143) describes his introduction to the enemy through an image of an armed soldier, apparently clenching a dagger in his mouth, sketched by someone who has never seen a ‘communist terrorist’. Reality proved different. On the battlefield, UNITA and FNLA soldiers looked similar to those of the MPLA and FAPLA (enemies) – ‘’n klomp skorrie morrie soldate met ’n verskeidenheid uniforms en wapens en boots of tekkies wat lyk of hulle baie, baie lank gelede deur dieselfde KM ge-issue was’ [‘A lot of riff-raff soldiers with a range of various uniforms and weapons and boots or sneakers that look as if they were issued a long, long time ago by the same QM’]. The only features that distinguished them were hand signs, passwords and ways of greeting. SWAPO operators, however, were teachers or beer drinking civilians in Cuca shops or kraals (Bothma, 2009:143). A depiction of the enemy in *Commando* consisted of two photographs (see below) of a ‘typical terrorist’ with ‘ragged clothes’, holding an old British type .303 rifle, contrasted with a ‘tamed’ terrorist, who ‘bluntly refused to smile or look less morbid’ (Die oorlog in Angola, 1967b:17). On the same page another photograph features

⁸⁸ Pieter Willem Botha (1916-2006), sixth State President of South Africa (1984-1989), 8th Prime Minister of South Africa (1978-1984), Minister of Defence (1966-1981).

⁸⁹ These include: An International Symposium on Communism, held in Pretoria in 1967 (Basson 1998:108), the symposium of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria (ISSUP) – established in 1974 – ‘National Security: A Modern Approach’ (Cawthra, 1986:30) and the National Management and Development Foundation in 1977. Vale (2008:31) gives the date of the establishment of ISSUP as 1977. See also NIRA’s World Directory of Think Tanks (2004). SADF officers, government economic advisers and academics participated in the second, while the fourth was attended by businessmen and SADF officers (Cawthra, 1986:30-31).

the captured ‘family members’ (mothers and children) of terrorists who could not accompany them as a result of hunger and weakness, and who were receiving treatment. Clearly, this part of the propaganda exercise depicted the idea of a better life for those not involved in terrorist activities.

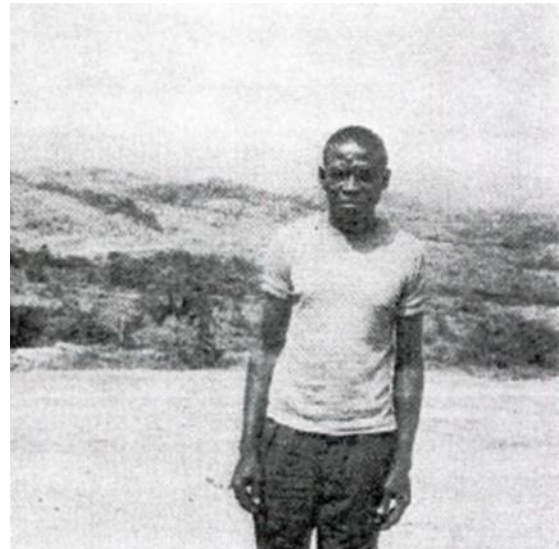


Figure 3: Depiction of a terrorist (Die oorlog in Angola, 1967b:17).

3.2.2 Participants

In this theatre of war two main groupings were active: The SADF and its allies fighting against SWAPO and their allies, and on both sides various countries supporting them by means of training, funding and arms supplies. Groups associated with the SADF included the South African Police (SAP) and Koevoet, the National Union for Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA),⁹⁰ Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) and the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO). The USA supported the SADF, FNLA and UNITA (Ramsden,

⁹⁰ After Angola's independence in 1975 and the resultant civil war amongst the three opposition groups (MPLA, FNLA and UNITA), South Africa supported the FNLA and UNITA against the MPLA (Heitman, 1990:10; Korff, 2009:14-15). Korff (2009:14-15) gives a succinct description of Portuguese involvement in Angola spanning some 400 years.

2009:78; Shubin, 2008:17, 42, 57-58; Steenkamp, 1989:39, 42; Vale, 2008:36). The liberation groups with their supporting countries included the African National Congress (ANC) with its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) with its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), originally called *Pogo*,⁹¹ the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) with its military wing Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola (FAPLA), the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and its military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). The USSR supported a number of liberation movements on the African continent, which included the ANC and its ally, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) (Shubin, 2008:156) and its military wing, the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA),⁹² MPLA (Shubin, 2008:8-9, 12, 248-252; Steenkamp, 1989:21) and FRELIMO (Shubin, 2008:125, 129-139).⁹³ The ANC, South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) received support from China (Shubin, 2008:243, 159), but with the ANC's and SACP's failure to join forces with China in the Sino-Soviet conflict, China withdrew its support from these two movements (2008:243). Shubin (2008:40, 49) also gives a brief account of China's arms support to and relations with the FNLA and UNITA in 1973 and 1975 respectively.⁹⁴

⁹¹ '*Pogo*' means, 'We got it alone' (Davenport, 1987:402) or 'We stand alone' (Shay & Vermaak, 1971:82). O' Malley (2015) expresses uncertainty with reference to the meaning of *Pogo*, suggesting that it is abbreviated from the Xhosa 'Um Afrika Poqo', which means 'blacks only'. Tshonyane (1969:8-9) clarifies the term as 'we (i.e. Africans) go it alone' ('Am Afrika poqo'), while the November 1981 issue of *Sechaba* clarifies the meaning as 'pure', 'we go it alone' and 'Um Afrika poqo' ('pure African') (Pages from history, 1981:20).

⁹² Shubin (2008:258-259) also refers to Russia's involvement in Operation Vula in order to create an underground resistance network in South Africa.

⁹³ According to Ramsden (2009:77), T-54, T-55 and T-62 tanks, MiG-23 fighter planes, thousands of AK-47 assault rifles and 'countless landmines' were supplied to the MPLA by Russia. Shubin (2008) writes about the Soviet Union's involvement in the South African Border War, alleging the tendency of the Russians to support the 'weaker side' (2008:1). In this regard he also mentions the Russian aversion to Britain, leading to a stronger affinity with the 'Boers' (Shubin, 2008:1), pointing to Russia's support of the two South African republics during the Anglo Boer war. The former anti-British sentiments were later directed towards the USA (Shubin, 2008:2).

⁹⁴ Steenkamp (1989:32-34) also refers to China's support for the FNLA and UNITA.

1975, the year of Angolan independence, also saw Cuba's support increase for the MPLA in Angola (Davenport, 1987:485; Shubin, 2008:73; Williams, 2008:72) with some 4 000 Cuban troops amassing at the border by November 1975 (Williams, 2008:73).⁹⁵ The Cuban and South African presence is further affirmed by Shubin (2008:73), who claims that South Africa had to withdraw from Angola in 1976 as a result of the strength of Cuban and FAPLA forces. The SADF then attacked from the South West African border which, according to Shubin (2008:73), made it necessary for the Soviet Union to intervene.⁹⁶

3.3 Summary

It is evident that the way South Africa saw its position within an international context had security implications for internal affairs, deeming it necessary to defend itself against world communism. Reports of brutal events linked to the independence of states on the African continent as well as support for these states from communist-orientated countries, increased the justification of a defence system, hence the Border War, impacting soldiers and civilians and their perceptions and support of the War.

South Africans were consistently made aware of the purported communist threat through various media, which included reportage in *Commando* and *Paratus*. Besides reports of the strategies and brutalities of the enemy, the enemy was also depicted by placing photographs and descriptions of (mostly black) individuals, as seen in Figure 3 above. This kind of reportage in the above-mentioned SADF publications also illustrates how these publications, as contact between the SADF and their readership (which included civilians), constructed the enemy to justify the Border War whilst glorifying the SADF as protector. Musically, this message, as published in *Paratus*, was portrayed by songs such as the 'Border song' by Doll and Dirkie de Villiers (Figure 2). This is an indication of one way in which music was used as propaganda tool to convey the message of the SADF protecting South Africa against a communist invasion.

⁹⁵ See also Gleijeses (2003:246-272). Ramsden (2009:77) notes that Cuba supplied the MPLA with 20 000 to 30 000 troops. Korff (2009:15) notes 50 000 Cuban troops and aviators were sent to Angola in support of the MPLA, while Blake (2009:275) noted 15 000 Cuban troops heading for Angola in 1976.

⁹⁶ See also Gleijeses (2003) with regards to the Cuban presence in Africa.

From a music perspective, which is the interest of this thesis, it is thus an important question as to how music was organised within the SADF structures (formal bands and choirs) and their general militarization strategies.

4 Militarisation

SABC personality Monica Breed (Conscription: SABC personalities speak out, 1980:47) described the involvement of the whole spectrum of South African society in the military effort, ranging from the soldier to the ‘man on the street’, to women and children. This points to the militarisation of society, in which boundaries between the military and civil society become blurred due to the gradual intrusion of military institutions into civilian society, as described by Enloe (1983:9) and Regan (1994:5-6).

It is possible to make distinctions between militarism and militarisation. Militarism, broadly speaking, is the domination of society by a military class, or the pervasiveness of military ideals in society (Estes, 2006:872; Gillis, 1981:1) and where the military sphere constitutes a substantial aspect of political leadership (Estes, 2006:872). For Alexandra (1993:206-207), ‘militarism’ has a negative connotation implying inappropriate actions taken by military institutions, which are themselves often seen as proper. He (1993:208) also points out that studies on militarism should be considered in the context of military institutions and their capacity for warfare, as well as in the contexts described by Von Clausewitz as drawing upon the ‘art of war’ in order to understand military institutions and their acceptable limits.⁹⁷ Megoran (2008:476), based on work by Coates, maintains that militarism is the ‘glorification of war as a good in itself, rather than simply as a means to an end’.⁹⁸ He argues that the justification for war is redemptive within religious and secular environments, referencing the Christian Crusades,⁹⁹ Islamic movements, and nationalist and communist movements that assert the glorification, renewal and immortalisation of the body through killing.¹⁰⁰ Examples

⁹⁷ See also Von Clausewitz (1982:101-122). Alexandra (1993) writes about war as pure art and the rejection of war as pure art. See also his references to ‘war for war’s sake’ and ‘war for the sake of peace’, which is in line with Just War Theory and with views regarding violent force limits (Alexandra, 1993:218-219). For Just War Theory see also Megoran (2008:478-482).

⁹⁸ See Coates (1997:41).

⁹⁹ See, for example, Riley-Smith (1977:34-53).

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Niditch (1993) for Biblical references to war, which includes the intentions and moral justification of waging war. See also Bourke’s (1999:269-305) account of Christian ethics and the justification for war on religious grounds. Megoran (2008:478) points to the work of Aristotle, Cicero, Ambrose and Augustine in laying the foundations of Just War theory. See also Musto (1986), who writes about peace in

of militarism include a ‘love of parades’ and ‘military activity unmotivated by state policy’ (Alexandra, 1993:217).

For Regan (1994:4-5), militarism refers to adherence to military ideals and values, while militarisation suggests preparation for war and therefore the process of shifting towards a more militarised state. A more advanced condition of militarisation can be found in what Lasswell (1941) refers to as a ‘garrison state’, whereby the soldier exerts power through skills that can be applied in civilian organisations. This evokes what Vernon Dibble calls a ‘garrison society’ (1966-67:106), where the links between civil society and the military establishment are tightly interwoven, thus putting at risk the ideals of a democratic society through the intimidation of civilians by means of military control.¹⁰¹

Cock (1989a:5-12) singles out a number of levels at which militarisation can take place: the economic level (expansion of an arms industry, growing ties between military and private sectors, and so forth),¹⁰² the political level (military presence in geographical occupation, destabilisation policies and decision making to achieve military ideals) and the ideological level (for example, state violence as conflict resolution and schooling and education oriented towards military ideals). Militarisation as a process, and specifically the way it worked through music, will be unpacked further in this study.

4.1 Mechanisms

Militarism as a social condition (the effect of militarisation) and militarisation as a social process both connect with the way in which civil society is organised in preparation for war. A

Christianity from Biblical times through to the twentieth century, with occasional references to Just War within these contexts. See also See Bourke (1999:13-43).

¹⁰¹ See also Craig (2008:59), who writes that the apartheid state followed the ‘garrison state’ model with the blurring of military and civilian power.

¹⁰² This references the ‘military industrial complex’. The term was used by Dwight Eisenhower during his farewell address on 17 January 1961, assuming the combination of military with civilian interests such as defence, academic and local interests (Shrader, 2006:874). Shrader (2006:874) also notes certain more contemporary manifestations of the military industrial complex, which include the internet, the space programme and civilian supersonic aircraft.

symptom of a highly militarised society is a dominant elite that maintains a prominent security division overseeing its interests (Regan, 1994:4). The distinction between a militaristic and militarised society is that the former adopts clear and explicit policy objectives (in terms of using force) and boundaries, whereas in the latter instance the boundaries are blurred and more implicit in social behaviour (Regan, 1994:6). Conscription is an example of the extension of the military sphere into civil society. Upon the completion of their military duties, most conscripts return to civilian life. Highly militarised societies organise their citizens around the military, where military advancement is often part of the norm (Regan, 1994:9-10).¹⁰³

Jacklyn Cock (1989a:2) notes three closely related distinctions that cohere around the notion of the military, namely the military as social institution (organisation within armed forces), militarism as an ideology (state violence legitimised as solution to conflict) and militarisation as a social process (mobilising resources for war). For Cock, militarisation as a social process subsumes two aspects: ‘the spread of militarism as an ideology and an expansion of the power and influence of the military as a social institution’. Regan (1994:xiv, 10) writes that society becomes involved in militarisation by being taught about the military’s honourable role as protector from an early age – a role not to be questioned. Mechanisms of these teachings include the manufacture and use (by trained individuals) of military weapons (Alexandra, 1993:205), obtaining military intelligence, and conflict planning (Regan, 1994:2-3).

4.2 Tools and channels

Militarisation permeates various sectors of society. In terms of Enloe’s (1983:9-10) material dimension, expressed against a certain ideological background, the military intrudes into the civilian domain by, for example, civilian industries becoming dependent on the military for contracts. In return, unemployed civilians can also be sent to military institutions thereby solving youth unemployment problems. A secondary effect of militarisation therefore is society

¹⁰³ See Regan (1994) for his measurement indicators and hypotheses of the extent to which a society is militarized. He suggests that these indicators include: ‘1) the number of active and reserve forces, 2) number of civilians working directly for the military, 3) number of military veterans participating in veteran organizations, 4) number of civilians involved in production of hardware, 5) number of military training programs in secondary and university school systems’ (Regan, 1994:12-13).

becoming dependent on the premise that a military presence is part of the normalisation of social interactions. Ideologically, the degree of these developments is weighed up against the degree of their acceptability by civilians (1983:10). These processes, as part of most modern societies, are often endorsed or encouraged by formal organisations and reputable figures such as clergy, politicians and academics, and further integrated into society by means of mechanisms such as ‘war toys’, war and military-themed films (Alexandra 1993:205-206; Regan, 1994:11), television, journalism, business and academia (research and education) (1994:xiv, 10-11).¹⁰⁴ Agents that may influence the public sector towards internalising patriotic and nationalist sentiments by popularising military themes may include educators, religious leaders, the publishing industry, television and entertainment personalities (Regan, 1994:95-105). Militarisation also functions through processes of national identity construction by means of landscapes such as battlefields (Woodward, 2014)¹⁰⁵ or historical events.¹⁰⁶

To employ these agents towards shaping society’s attitudes positively towards the military, society has to believe in the perceptions of a threat from an enemy, as well as the military ideal of the country’s position globally, and accept the individual’s place in relation to these ideals. The ‘enemy-building process’ may take place through the presentation of historical myths and public fears. A patriotic and nationalist identity (individually and collectively) can be manipulated by the church, the media or educational institutions to mobilise society into a desired response or direction. Modes of manipulation may include the control of information by exerting an influence on the media and entertainment industry by means of direct control through state ownership of the media, advertising in various forms of media, self-censorship and through entertainment channels that produce movies, toys and video games (Regan,

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, Jochelson and Buntman (1989:298-306) on consumerist militarism and Stockwell and Muir (2003) on the military entertainment complex.

¹⁰⁵ See Gold and Revill (1999), Herman (2008), Hurt (2010), Lahiri (2003), Tivers (1999) and Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood (2010) for studies on battlefield landscapes.

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, Harrigan’s reference to the ‘commando spirit of the Boers’, which touched the heart strings of a certain part of the South African population to convince them of the necessity for conscription to deal with a perceived communist threat (1965:95-96).

1994:97-100).¹⁰⁷ *Paratus*, for example, featured advertisements of items under the ‘Troopie’ trademark, as well as war toys such as army vehicles as can be seen in the photograph below.



Figure 4: War toys in ‘Paratus’ (Net soos die ware Jakob, 1987:36-37).

¹⁰⁷ Regan (1994:101-102) refers to Noel-Baker (1958) and Whitfield (1991) with regard to the correlation of media coverage of war topics and newspaper sales, as well as the influence of war culture on civilian society. He also refers to Schramm’s (1980) effects of mass media, Steven Dworetz’s (1987:198) ‘political passivity and obedience’ and Lifton’s (1982) ‘psychological numbing’ to point to the role of the media in shaping public attitudes, suggesting an overall acceptance of war-related policies (Regan 1994:102-105). Regan (1994:96-97) gives a number of examples of visual images and rhetoric intended to win public approval for the war in Iraq. Cawthra (1986:252) writes about toy models of SADF vehicles (Casspirs) that were handed out to children during operations in some areas. A visual military presence was also evident through clothing. Williams (2008:66), as an aside, writes that the name Casspir is made up of the abbreviations for the South African Police and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). Conway (2008:80) writes about a SCF T-shirt (given to donors) containing a South West African map with an arrow pointing to the border, with the slogan ‘He is there’.

4.3 Militarisation: Global and African context

It was within the global context of the Cold War and communist influence, the African context of the independence gained by former colonial states, and the ruling political party in South Africa's framework of preserving 'white civilization' against an encroaching military threat that militarisation in South Africa took on many of the forms discussed above.¹⁰⁸

Alexander (2000:267-268) refers to the post-Second World War white South African population's attitudes towards the military – attitudes of opposition to and resentment of war and the Union Defence Force. This changed when the National Party came into power in 1948, campaigning as they did for white votes through their segregation policies. These campaigns depended heavily on the construction and vilification of the so-called *swart gevaar* [black threat] (Alexander, 2000:268) or *swart oorstroming* [black swamping] approach (Liebenberg & Spies, 1993:282), instilling fear of the manifestation of Black Nationalism. These fears were also rooted in white job insecurities, which stemmed from a longer history of labour conflict in the industrial sector.¹⁰⁹ The killing of whites in Kenya in the 1950s and the bloodshed during the attempted secession of Katanga in the Congo in the 1960s were held up as examples of the impact of Black Nationalism (Alexander, 2000:269; Harrigan, 1965:13-20).¹¹⁰ Anti-apartheid protests in South Africa increased after the Sharpeville massacre of 21 March 1960, resulting in wider international antagonism towards South Africa and its apartheid policies. In the run-up to becoming a republic in 1961 another threat, that of militant African nationalism, in tandem with the decolonisation of African countries and their ensuing independence, played out in brutal ways involving violence against whites living in Africa with graphic press reports in the early 1960s (Warwick, 2009:13-14, 54).¹¹¹ Further threat perceptions included the

¹⁰⁸ See also the General background (Chapter Three) in this study for more about the global, African and South African contexts.

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, Davenport (1987:319-320, 524-539).

¹¹⁰ Warwick (2009) focuses specifically on threat perceptions from 1960-1968. See also Fage (1988:487) with regard to the Mau Mau in Kenya and Mockler (1969:157-193) about events in the Congo. See also Ludo de Witte (2001) for a comprehensive account of events surrounding Patrice Lumumba's death.

¹¹¹ See, for example the *Huisgenoot* article '1963 beeld van Afrika' [1963 image of Africa] (1964:10-15). See also Beinart (1994:159-162).

collaboration amongst the SADF's 'Afro-Asian' and 'Communist' rivals who allegedly supported the *Pogo* violence against whites and MK sabotage activities (Warwick, 2009:181, 457; Davenport, 1987:402-403).¹¹² Infiltrations by SWAPO, PAC and ANC guerrillas by 1966, the year of Verwoerd's assassination, posed further threats, which justified calls for SADF intervention (Warwick, 2009:274). A brief summary of events in Africa from 1961-1991 includes (Alexander, 2000:269): 80 violent coups; 23 assassinations or executions of national leaders; 12 forced resignations and dismissals of national leaders; 20 one-party states (by the mid-1980s); and 21 military dictatorships. These brutalities and the threat of communism thus affirmed the SADF's protective role and its ability to reduce these fears amongst white South Africans (Warwick, 2009:14-15, 54-55, 457).¹¹³

4.4 South African context

In 1948 (the year that the National Party came into power), under the direction of Minister of Defence Frans Erasmus and Brigadier J.D. Kriegler, an investigation was launched into military facilities, the full-time training of young white citizens, the feasibility of establishing a military science faculty at a tertiary institution, and extending the school cadet system as a foundation for military training.¹¹⁴ This led to the establishment of the Military Academy at Saldanha and various military gymnasia from the late 1940s (Alexander, 2000:273; Ploeger, 1971:614).¹¹⁵ The gymnasia, for attendance by young white males (Alexander, 2000:275-276), formed part of the national service training infrastructure along the ideological lines

¹¹² '1963 beeld van Afrika' (1964:10-15) provides images of the violence in Katanga. *Pogo* was the forerunner of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), the military wing of the PAC. The ANC and the PAC initially collaborated as the United Front from 1960-1962 (Davenport, 1987:428). See also the General Background (Chapter Three) in this study.

¹¹³ International undertakings to curb communism included the Middle East Defence Organisation (MEDO) agreement (1951-1957) (Alexander, 2000:270; Jooste, 1995:147-150, 187-188) and the Simons Town Agreement (1955-1975) (Alexander, 2000:271; Cawthra, 1986:25, 90).

¹¹⁴ See Alexander (2000:273).

¹¹⁵ The Military Academy was originally established in Voortrekkerhoogte (University of Pretoria), after which it moved to Stellenbosch University before its current location in Saldanha (Stellenbosch University). See also Williams (2008:56) in this regard. The gymnasia include the Military Gymnasium (Army Gymnasium), Air Force Gymnasium, and the Naval Gymnasium. See further Alexander (2000:273, 275-281) and Ploeger (1971:614-617).

determining government policy (Alexander, 2000:279). The Military Academy, on the other hand, produced individuals such as Magnus Malan,¹¹⁶ Constand Viljoen and Jan Geldenhuys, who all played a part in the militarisation of South Africa by implementing the national service system (Alexander, 2000:279-280). Admission into the military was originally voluntary. This changed in the early 1950s to the ballot system, the extension of military service from three to nine months in 1962 (Alexander, 2000:273-275, 282) and finally to national service in 1968 (Alexander, 2000:284) and two years compulsory conscription by 1978 (Alexander, 2000:285). Under the Defence Act of 1957, which increasingly enabled militarisation, the UDF was replaced by the SADF, the Commandos were integrated into the SADF (Alexander, 2000:218; Ploeger, 1971:614) and new terms of service were incorporated to include compulsory school cadet training and compulsory national service in the SADF between the ages of 17 and 65 (Alexander, 2000:281). The justification for increased militarisation was based on fears caused by the increasing external and internal instability and violence, as referred to in Chapter Three) (Alexander, 2000:281-283; Germani, 1967:130-131; Potter, 1970:130-134; Smith & Nöthling, 1985:342-409).¹¹⁷

‘National service’ and ‘border duty’ became familiar and accepted phrases in (white) South African households and young white South Africans often regarded their ‘bit on the border’ with pride (Alexander, 2000:284-285).¹¹⁸ Following Operation Savannah, the Citizen Force also became involved in operational service to supplement existing human resources (Alexander, 2000:285).¹¹⁹ The social unrest of the 1980s saw the deployment of troops in townships (Alexander, 2000:287-288). Generally, white South Africans, except for a number of conscientious objectors, accepted conscription and border service (Alexander, 2000:285-286; Nathan, 1989:308-323; Winkler & Nathan, 1989:324-337).

¹¹⁶ Magnus André de Merindol Malan, Minister of Defence (1981-1991).

¹¹⁷ Hence the context of Just War Theory to justify the border war (Craig, 2008:59). See also Matthews (1967:11) with regards to the struggle and Just War. See also Wood (1989:363-365), Liebenberg & Spies (1993:389-392) and Shay & Vermaak (1971:79-88).

¹¹⁸ See also Frankel (1984:90).

¹¹⁹ In this respect, Alexander (2000:286) refers to Citizen Force soldiers who were called up from their civilian work for ten days during Operation Reindeer (Cassinga assault), which appeared to be a norm with white South African society.

Militarisation took place at all levels of society. Boys were prepared militarily through the school cadet system. Girls could also participate in cadets on a voluntary basis, while everyone received ‘youth preparedness’ instruction. There was an option for post-matric girls to continue further military training at the South African Women’s College in George (Alexander, 2000:286-287; Cock, 1989b:61; Frankel, 1984:109). With claims by the state that a mere 20% of warfare is military, mobilisation through psychological methods entailed building up the morale of troops, creating patriotic sentiments amongst white civilians and ‘winning the hearts and minds’ of black civilians (Cawthra, 1986:41). White women – ‘mothers, sweethearts, wives and friends’ supporting the *grensvegters* (Conway, 2008:79) – became involved through organisations such as the Southern Cross Fund (SCF),¹²⁰ which raised funds for gifts for the ‘boys on the border’,¹²¹ known amongst the soldiers as *Dankie Tannie* parcels.¹²² Soldiers received items produced by women at home, accompanied by messages from children (Alexander, 2000:287). Conway (2008:79) refers to Enloe’s notion of ‘surrogate militarized motherhood’,¹²³ a role which was played by the SCF to boost troop morale and to create awareness of the troops amongst civilian society by means of fundraising and the free car rides for soldiers: ‘They keep us safe in our homes. Let’s give them a safe ride to theirs’.

The ‘Total Onslaught’ from communism was also communicated through state propaganda (Cawthra, 1986:41).¹²⁴ A substantial portion of white South African society was susceptible to state manipulation through the media (Conway, 2008:76),¹²⁵ since the apartheid state was able

¹²⁰ Their motto being ‘They are our security’, referring to the troops on the border (Conway, 2008:79). See also Van Heerden (2014) about the Southern Cross Fund.

¹²¹ The phrase ‘boys on the border’ also encapsulates militarisation through the lens of gender by portraying particular masculine roles for conscripts. Drewett (2008b:94-119) investigates the role of gender in pro- and anti-war rhetoric.

¹²² Conway (2008:79) mentions that these gift packs included a message that read, ‘The Southern Cross Fund thanks our men at the border’. See also Nieuwoudt (2013).

¹²³ See Enloe (1989:138).

¹²⁴ See, for example, editions of *Die Huisgenoot* issued in the 1960s. One example contains a map of Africa, suggesting 32 African states that were planning an offensive against South Africa (Boonzaier, 1963:5), while another contains the 1964 calendar, accompanied by an illustration of a world map, marking the non-communist and communist areas (*Die Huisgenoot se kalenderkaart vir 1964*, 1963:36-37).

¹²⁵ Craig (2008:62) refers to two main areas affected by censorship: information and certain media. See also Drewett (2004) and Jansen van Rensburg (2013) – Chapter Three. Posel (1989:262-274) illustrates the way in

to censor information and manufacture and distribute disinformation to promote state interests (Craig, 2008:61-62).¹²⁶ Craig (2008:61-62) points to the 1978-1979 Information Scandal whereby underhand deals were done with regard to public media companies in the service of the National Party during the Vorster era. The Botha government provided UNITA with radio facilities whereby, for example, their radio station, The Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel (VORGAN), broadcast from South Africa instead of from Savimbi's base in Angola (Craig, 2008:62; Windrich, 2000:207). The military also started gaining a larger (visual and audible) presence by means of radio request programmes,¹²⁷ the press,¹²⁸ school programmes such as cadets, soldiers wearing uniforms when travelling (Cawthra, 1986:41) and songs with soldier and border war themes (Conway 2008:80). Another conduit for targeting South African society was through the medium of film. According to Blignaut and Botha (1992:78-80) and Craig (2008:63-64), there were discrepancies between films aimed at black versus white, and English versus Afrikaans audiences, with the white and Afrikaans categories gaining substantially higher state subsidies. The medium of film also played its part in the glorification of the military and the condemnation of liberation and anti-conscription movements (Craig, 2008:65).¹²⁹

On the industrial and economic front military expenditure grew rapidly from R44 million (1960) to R210 million (1964) (Cawthra, 1986:16). Following the UN arms embargo of 1963, South Africa manufactured its own weapons through Armscor, which was established in 1968

which township violence was portrayed by the apartheid state to justify reciprocated violence from the SAP and SADF.

¹²⁶ Films such as *Terrorist* and *Grensbasis 13* are examples of films that had to undergo various re-writes and re-edits to be in line with the NP government's agenda (Craig 2008:63). Jansen van Rensburg (2013:24) notes the complexity of apartheid ideology which, besides the racial component, also includes nationalist, economic and religious elements.

¹²⁷ Examples include *Forces Favourites* and *Springbok Rendezvous* (Conway 2008:80).

¹²⁸ Publications aimed at soldiers [and civilians] include *Paratus*, *The Warrior*, *Servamus* and *Uniform* (Cawthra, 1986:42-44). Cawthra (1986:44) refers to the SADF's involvement with 20 print publications at a cost amounting to over R300 000, as disclosed in 1980. See also 'Burger grootste Afrikaanse dagblad in SA' [*'Burger* largest Afrikaans daily'] (1980:3), Craig (2008:60) and Frankel (1984:97). Erichsen (2001) gives an analysis of the visual imagery in a number of these publications. Tomaselli and Louw (1988) give an extensive overview of militarisation and control of the South African media (see pp. 5-9).

¹²⁹ Craig (2007) also analyses several Border War films produced from 1971 to 1988 to illustrate the parallels between the changing landscape of the SABW itself and the film representations of it. See also Craig (2003).

(1986:16). South Africa also boasted the ability to produce a nuclear weapon with uranium mined from the 1950s. It also built two nuclear reactors (Safari 1 and 2) in the 1960s (Cawthra, 1986:17; United Nations, 1981).¹³⁰

In response, to the ‘Total Onslaught’ and the ‘Total Strategy’ various sectors affecting state security necessitated the establishment of Defence Intelligence structures such as the State Security Council (SSC) with various adjuncts such as the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) (Cawthra, 1986:27, 29-30, 35-40).¹³¹ Results of these actions became evident in industry, the economy, finance and academia (1986:30).¹³² The Defence Command Council (DCC) incorporated representation from Armscor, while the Defence Advisory Council (DAC) had representatives from Anglo American, Eskom, Barlow Rand and Anglo Vaal as part of formalising relations between the military and civilian spheres (Williams, 2008:56). The ‘Total Onslaught’ from communism was also communicated through state propaganda (Cawthra, 1986:41).¹³³

Cock (1989a:4) points out that the use of the term ‘militarisation’ in a South African context can lose its hermeneutic potential because of the vague way in which it has been applied to different processes.¹³⁴ She writes:

¹³⁰ Cawthra (1986:81-110, 233) also writes about the expanding military budget and the involvement of private companies in military endeavours (the military-industrial complex in South Africa). See also Cawthra (1986:259) for a summary of the rise of South African military and security expenditure from 1966 to 1985. Cawthra (1986:275) gives a list of arms producers in South Africa.

¹³¹ A ‘Total National Strategy’, which involved the military, government institutions, the collaboration of black states (homelands) and the alteration of aspects of apartheid to gain co-operation from all race groups, was devised to counter a perceived ‘Total Onslaught’ by communist countries against South Africa, as stated in the 1977 White Paper on Defence (Geldenhuys, 1981).

¹³² See, for example, the symposium held at the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria (ISSUP) and the conference arranged by the National Management and Development Foundation (Cawthra, 1986:30-31).

¹³³ See, for example, editions of *Die Huisgenoot* issued in the 1960s. One example contains a map of Africa, suggesting 32 African states that were planning an offensive against South Africa (Boonzaier, 1963:5), while another contains the 1964 calendar, accompanied by an illustration of a world map, marking the non-communist and communist areas (*Die Huisgenoot se kalenderkaart vir 1964*, 1963:36-37).

¹³⁴ In this respect Cock (1989a:2-4) refers to Mann’s (1987:35) ‘set of attitudes and social practices which regard war and the preparation of war as a normal and desirable social activity’, Andreski’s (1968:429) ‘aggressive foreign policy based on a readiness to resort to war, [...] preponderance of the military in the state, the extreme case being that of military rule, [...] subservience of the whole society to the needs of the army which may

It is tempting to analyse South African society in terms of these concepts of 'contamination' and 'saturation'.¹³⁵ However, one of the difficulties with this approach is that the notions become too broad and inclusive to have any analytical usefulness. 'Militarisation' becomes a kind of 'hold-all' into which everything negative and repressive about South African society is thrown (Cock 1989a:4).

This research uses the term 'militarisation' particularly as it relates to the use of music, thus avoiding the problem of generality identified by Cock. Whether the term does in fact address her concern that the term is an *a priori* marker of negative connotations is another matter and will be taken up in later chapters.

4.5 Militarisation and music

Since ancient times there has been an awareness of the effects of music on the human psyche, and the use of music in governance and war. Examples in these early contexts include biblical references to David curing the distraught Saul with his playing on the harp (effects of music on the human psyche),¹³⁶ the walls of Jericho coming down with the sound of trumpets and the shouting of the Israelites (music in warfare),¹³⁷ and processions such as victory parades after battle (music after combat).¹³⁸

Confucius (551-479 BC), as pointed out by Tsze-Lu in the Analects, Book XIII, Chapter III, noted the interaction between music and governance as follows:

involve a recasting of social life in accordance with the pattern of military organisation, and [...] an ideology which promotes military ideas', Smith and Smith's (1983:11) 'high military spending', Enloe's (1983:9) 'gradual encroachment of the military institution into the civilian arena', Luckham's (1971) measurement of the degree of militarisation, Eide and Thee's (1980:22) notion of the 'military-industrial-technological-bureaucratic complex', Williams's (1985:224) 'organised grouping of arms production, military research and state-security interests which has, in effect, moved beyond the control of civil society, and is the true contemporary form of the state itself', Thompson's (1982:21) and Bahro's (1982:89) delimitation of the phenomenon of militarisation and the notion of contamination by means of militarisation.

¹³⁵ See Thompson (1982:21) and Bahro (1982:89).

¹³⁶ *The Holy Bible*, 1 Samuel 16:14-23.

¹³⁷ *The Holy Bible*, Joshua 6:1-27.

¹³⁸ *The Holy Bible*, Exodus 15:20-21; *The Holy Bible*, Psalm 68:25.

When names are not used properly, language will not be used effectively; when language is not used effectively, matters will not be taken care of; when matters are not taken care of, the observance of ritual propriety and the playing of music will not flourish; when the observance of ritual propriety and the playing of music do not flourish, the application of laws and punishments will not be on the mark; when the application of laws and punishments will not be on the mark, the people will not know what to do with themselves (Ames & Rosemont, 1999:162).

Plato (428-347 BC), in his *Republic*, attributed certain features to specific musical modes whereby music expresses the sounds and effects of soldiers in warfare, which will in turn help to sustain endurance in battle:

[...] leave us that harmony that would fittingly imitate the utterances and the accents of a brave man who is engaged in warfare or in any enforced business, and who, when he has failed, either meeting wounds or death [...] (Strunk, 1981a:5-6).

Plato and Aristotle believed that music could produce a particular effect on people where different modes affected people differently (Katz & Dahlhaus, 1987:35, 256). Plato claimed that music can produce an altered state of mind; for example, a soldier could become a ‘feeble warrior’ when exposed to soothing music over a long period of time (Katz & Dahlhaus, 1987:35). A number of scholars who later expressed similar ideas about music include Boethius (ca. 480-524 AD),¹³⁹ Isidore of Seville (d. 636),¹⁴⁰ Johannes Tinctoris (1435-1511),¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ In *De Institutione Musica* Boethius referred to the well-known anecdote about Pythagoras who calmed an unsettled youth (unsettled by the Phrygian mode) by changing the mode. See Katz & Dahlhaus (1987:66-67, 69-70) and Strunk (1981a:82-84).

¹⁴⁰ Isidore of Seville in *Etymologiarum* wrote about the effect of music on the emotions, referring to more furious trumpet sounds that spurred on the soldiers in combat situations. See Strunk (1981a:94).

¹⁴¹ Tinctoris (1435-1511) also noted the role of music as inspiration to battle, referring to Alexander the Great’s trumpeter who provoked him into battle. See Katz and Dahlhaus (1989:46).

Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529),¹⁴² Vincenzo Galilei (1520-1591),¹⁴³ Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585),¹⁴⁴ Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643),¹⁴⁵ Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639),¹⁴⁶ and Jean Baptiste Leclerc (1755-1826).¹⁴⁷ Charles Avison (1709-1770) recognised the effects of melody and harmony, and added to these the enhanced effects of musical expression (Lippman, 1986:186).¹⁴⁸ In James Beattie's (1735-1803) *Essay on music and poetry as they affect the mind* (1776), a suggestion of music as incitement can also be detected. Lippman suggests that sound in itself (without text) can have an impact on military situations (Lippman, 1986:231-232). Images of armies, conquest and military splendour were invoked by the *Belleisle March* and the feelings of 'intense longing' were brought about with the *Rance des vaches*, which was prohibited from being played by some armies (Lippman, 1986:238-239). These ideas were further elaborated by Hegel (1770-1831), who recognised the supporting role of music in relaxation, in marching and incitement to war, in conjunction with strategy (Katz & Dahlhaus, 1987:357). Concerning the march, Paul Honigsheim (1885-1963) noted the synchronising function of the march in complex societies, where a need to walk in step was met and that militaristic societies, civilians and professional groups (athletics organisations) used marches as a 'kind of trademark' (Katz & Dahlhaus, 1993:72). In history there was also the example of Croatian Baron von der Trenck in the 1700s, who clothed his Pandours in Turkish attire and used Turkish music to scare the enemy (Balić, 2015:53-54).

¹⁴² Castiglione wrote, 'And the wise master [Chiron] would have those hands that should shed so much Trojan blood to be oftentimes occupied in playing upon the harp? [...] Do ye not then deprive our Courtier of music, which does not only make sweet the minds of men, but also many times wild beasts tame'. See Strunk (1981c:93).

¹⁴³ Galilei also wrote about Timotheus, player of the aulos, who 'roused the great Alexander [...] to combat with the armies of his foes'. See Katz and Dahlhaus (1989:72).

¹⁴⁴ De Ronsard referred to role of music in the conduct of state affairs and war. See Strunk (1981c:97).

¹⁴⁵ Monteverdi also referred to Timotheus who 'incited Alexander to war, but by singing' (Strunk, 1981b:48). See also Monteverdi's comments on the use of the ideas of Tasso, Plato and the like for his own *stile rappresentativo* in Strunk (1981b:53-55).

¹⁴⁶ Campanella also referred to the 'violent and impetuous clangor of trumpets' that spurred soldiers on towards battle against the enemy. See Katz and Dahlhaus (1987:98).

¹⁴⁷ Jean Baptiste Leclerc suggested following 'Plato's example [by banning] purely instrumental music; [and only allowing] it to lead the marches of the National Guard battalions, and to accompany dancing at public festivals if it had originally been set to words that were of a moral or political flavour'. See Le Huray and Day (1988:183).

¹⁴⁸ See also Lippman (1986:271-272) for André Morellet's (1727-1819) description of musical expression and the use of warlike instruments.

The uses of music in war situations have changed with the changes in warfare since early times. Since Antiquity armies have used trumpets, horns and drums to send signals and to drive away the enemy. These musicians accompanied soldiers to the battlefield. In the first half of the nineteenth century army bands also helped to make contact with civilians.¹⁴⁹ During the First World War pipers played during the march to and from the trenches.¹⁵⁰ This changed during the Second World War, when the increasing pervasiveness of technology changed not only warfare, but also the uses and functions of music in such situations. The Border War also saw an increased use of technology (radio, television and recordings).

4.6 Summary

Although examples date as far back as the early centuries, the effects and uses of music in military strategy remain a contemporary field of interest, as found in the recent examples of Pieslak (2009), Cleveland (1994), Kartomi (2010), Jones (2006) and Watkins (2003). Surveying the literature reviewed in this section, one can conclude that there has been an interest in this topic since biblical times, but with a great deal of repetition and references to Antiquity, especially in literature dating from the fifth century to the nineteenth century. Topics focused mostly on emotions (for example, bravery), marches to direct the steps of soldiers, and music used during military processions. The main concerns of these writers revolve around music and warfare, and not necessarily music and militarisation. One could then ask the question about the role of music in militarisation.

Within the context of this study, militarisation will be used to gauge and frame the various musical activities connected with the period of the South African Border War as reflected in the reportage of *Paratus*. Militarisation is an important theoretical concept to steer the discourse away from traditional military music to a consideration of its role in the South African Border War.

¹⁴⁹ Montagu *et al.* (2001:686).

¹⁵⁰ Montagu *et al.* (2001:684).

5 Military sensitization and conscription

South African society was permeated by militarisation at various levels, starting with the youth, who were exposed to military principles during their early years. Certain propaganda organs of the government and liberation movements were instrumental in sensitizing young people to military issues before they became involved in any of the forces or combat units by inculcating (military) principles early in life. Cawthra (1986:41) points out that the social, psychological and political aspects of war carry more weight than the military aspect, highlighting that the SADF focused on social and political mobilisation. Psychologically, the white population at home had patriotic sentiments inculcated in all aspects of life. The following section highlights how this was achieved across age groups by using different *modi operandi* and platforms including youth movements such as cadets, and how music was employed to advance this.

5.1 Youth movements: Military sensitization before conscription

During the apartheid years an appeal was made to young people through visual and auditory images of the military (as mentioned in Chapter Four): soldiers in uniform, radio request programmes for conscripts, press articles about soldiers, and school children participating in cadets and para-military programmes or activities with a military flavour such as drum majorettes, scouts and societies such as the *Voortrekkers*. As a 13-year-old South African, Cameron Blake (2009:4) saw reports on soldier mortalities on television, realising the eventuality of National Service. Conditioning through such content motivated youths to participate in activities such as cadets, which was compulsory for boys. Blake (2009:5, 12-13) further recalls practising mock terrorist attacks, attending youth preparedness classes that included drill practice on the sports fields and National Servicemen of 6 SAI assisting with cadet training.

Boys' schools also focused on physical ability in combination with leadership skills, hierarchy, sporting achievements and traditional values (Warwick, 2009:365), which point to attempts by the government to instil a model concept of (military) hierarchy and order from a young age. The photograph below features boys from Nylstroom who visited the SADF at Voortrekkerhoogte in Pretoria for two days. During this visit they were informed about various military vehicles to demonstrate that a 'new world has opened for them', so that they could

‘see themselves in a military situation’. The aim of the visit was achieved as the boys looked forward to their military service, while the girls were at peace about sacrificing their friends for two years (Kinders se onvergeetlike besoek aan die SAW, 1985:55). In the photograph the boys are standing in formation, guided by a lance corporal, whilst learning the parade drill. This once again openly illustrates the militarisation of the youths at school level, where boys and girls were already learning the roles of men and women in a militarised society from a young age: the man was the soldier-protector and the woman was the nurturer-supporter of these guardians. The caption, ‘unforgettable visit’ [‘onvergeetlike besoek’] gives the impression of an outing that left fond memories.



Figure 5: Unforgettable visit to the SADF (Kinders se onvergeetlike besoek aan die SAW, 1985:55)

Militarisation was also extended to black and coloured learners through adventure camps, as illustrated by a camp for the Ekongoro Youth Movement for black school children (Duisende kinderharte verbly, 1979:34-35; Wham wham, you're dead: Youth movements in Namibia, 1982:24) and a leadership camp at 4 SAI Battalion, Middelburg, attended by coloured learners of Eersterust (SAW help en leer jeugleiers in natuur, 1981:24). In learning to be prepared, they were exposed to weapon and combat demonstrations, building obstacles (obstacle courses), lectures on communism, hiking, sports, films about terrorism, communism and the SADF, terrorist weapons exhibitions and a concert, while the kitchen staff consisted of members from the South African Cape Corps. This occasion was organised by the Departments of

International Affairs and Information, National Education, Home Affairs in collaboration with the SADF, the Pretoria Welfare Society and the coloured community of Eersterust. The title, ‘SAW help en leer jeugleiers in natuur’ [‘SADF helps youth leaders in nature’], the terrain where the camp took place and the involvement of the military in arranging the camp all point to the future prospect of soldiers fighting in the bush or on the border. From a young age, through the activities and contents of such camps, learners were already being guided towards becoming future soldiers, when they were going to be fighting the enemy, the ‘terrorists’. The presence of a terrorist weapons exhibition on the programme was intended to show that the enemy used different (but inferior) weapons (1981:24). Using the word ‘terrorist’ was in principle also a means of distancing oneself from the enemy and reducing the terrorist to an abstraction, similar to the usage of terms such as ‘Gooks’ during the Vietnam War, or killing the ‘Boer’ or ‘Settler’ during the anti-apartheid struggle. The explicit mention of SA Cape Corps kitchen staff suggests that all were equal in serving the country,¹⁵¹ but there was differentiation on home front, where ‘non-whites’ had a lower social status,¹⁵² in accordance with the segregationist policies of the SA apartheid government. The Ekongoro Youth Movement, established in 1975 as part of the Winning Hearts and Minds (WHAM) programme, entailed youth camp activities in the Kavango during school holidays in various areas of the Kavango (Duisende kindelharte verbly, 1979:34-35; Wham wham, you’re dead: Youth movements in Namibia, 1982:24). This movement totalled some 30 000 youths in 1982 (1982:24). At camp Maria Mwangere, near Rundu, SADF staff lectured on agriculture, nature conservation, hygiene, terrorism and art to over 400 students. Attendees also participated in sports activities as well as film and singing performances. Cultural occasions and singing festivals showcasing traditional dances and traditional and spiritual songs, were held in an amphitheatre to instil a ‘volksgevoel’ (patriotic sentiments) in the learners. The setting was described as calm and beautiful, where the learners of the Kavango were able to ‘express themselves and [to] grow

¹⁵¹ Blake (2009:170), for example, mentions the absence of racial segregation in the army and on the border, which was the first place where he encountered amenities being shared and where the racial groups were mixed.

¹⁵² The term, ‘non-white’ in this thesis is used in accordance with reportage in *Paratus*. See, for example, Nöthling (1985:22-23).

into complete and worthy ['volwaardige'] citizens of a beautiful country' (Duisende kinderharte verbly, 1979:34-35).¹⁵³ This is an example of the role of music and culture in the context of militarising black youths, also focussing on cultural aspects such as traditional dances and songs.

1985, described as 'Youth Year', made a concerted effort to strengthen ties between the youth and the SADF by means of a number of activities.¹⁵⁴ 'Die jeug ons toekoms' ['The youth are our future'] (1985:58-59), feature photographs of *Voortrekkers* (Afrikaans version of scouts) in uniform, learners in school uniforms, a junior mayoress with the SADF 75th anniversary logo in the background, children participating in a procession with a uniformed cadet band in the background, drum majorettes and the presence of the military. Only the title makes is clear that the foundations of militarisation were laid at this level of youthful activities to prepare them for future conscription. The photographs in themselves show public involvement in the military, and *vice versa*. The presence of uniforms, whether for school, cadets, scouts or for drum majorettes, suggested a kind of homogeny present in the military. Scout activities and uniforms, and in this instance the *Voortrekker* uniforms, are reminiscent of propaganda with the *Hitlerjugend* in the Nazi era or the Communist Pioneer movement and *Komsomol*. The image of an exemplary schoolgirl as the junior mayoress exhibits the characteristics of a model citizen.¹⁵⁵ Drum majorettes were present at military tattoos and public events,¹⁵⁶ seemingly as a draw card for the military, as they were generally clothed in uniforms performing marching paces resembling those of the military. The year was further celebrated with the 'Youth Year song' that was described as a familiar song to which one could march (Só is die SA Weermag ook by die Jeugjaar betrokke, 1985:32; Duvenhage, 1986:53). It is peculiar that this song was

¹⁵³ The physical environment itself included huts made of traditional materials, a parade ground and an amphitheatre for traditional song and dance performances (Wham wham, 1982:24).

¹⁵⁴ For more about the SADF and the youth, see Benadé (1985:28-29), 'Jeugjaar = Youth year 85: Uitdagings van die toekoms' (1985:14) and 'Die jeug hou fees op Fort Klapperkop' (1985:58).

¹⁵⁵ 'Our Army Girl of the Year' (1975:2-3) as model citizen is described as 'Not just a shapely figure and a smile to launch a thousand ships! [...] [She] had to be a very complete package indeed, possessing attributes such as mode of conduct and general behaviour to further the Army's image [...]' (1975:2).

¹⁵⁶ As illustrations see, for example, De Smidt and Hollander (1985a:4-5), who write about the cadet band and drum majorettes from High School Hermanus that participated in the Freedom of Hermanus celebrations. See also Botes (1986c:24-25) on the 10th anniversary celebration of Kathu, where cadets and drum majorettes from Sishen High School participated in the event.

adapted from Woody Guthrie's 1940s left-wing song, 'This land is your land', considering Guthrie's ties with the American Communist Party during the Cold War era (Guthrie, 2019; Spivey, 1996).

The image shows a page from a magazine with musical notation and lyrics in Afrikaans and English. The title is 'JEUGJAAR-LIED'. The lyrics describe the land as being made for you and me, from the Transvaal Highlands to the Kaffrarian. The page number is 32 and the date is March 1985.

Figure 6: Youth Year song (Só is die SA Weermag ook by die Jeugjaar betrokke, 1985:32).

The fact that the 'Youth Year song' is a march, suggests the militaristic nature of the music. The mention of the various borders in the song also suggests the preservation of what lies between these borders, i.e. the preservation of 'white civilization'. The Land that was 'made for you and me' also suggests the 'natural' right of residence for the custodians of 'white civilization'. Preceding the description of the song in the magazine, a call was made for all members of the SADF to be involved in 'Youth Year', since the youth were regarded as an asset to the nation to be cherished (Só is die SA Weermag ook by die Jeugjaar betrokke, 1985:32). Sensitisation to the military amongst the youth also took place by means of choir singing competitions such as a provincial song festival presented by Command Orange Free State, which had the aim of influencing youths positively towards the SADF. Requirements for the competition included the performance of songs (entrants' own compositions with a song text or existing compositions with new texts) which had a military (SADF) theme (Hoogland beste op liedjiefees, 1989:47). In this way both primary and secondary school learners were indirectly involved in preparing for the war effort. The involvement of the SADF in the Youth Year, the publication of the 'Youth Year song' in a magazine produced by the military, and the organisation of a choir event by a military institution, are typical examples of how music forms

a bridge between the military and the civilian spheres and how these experiences were shared by both the military and civilians. Music thus served as a vehicle for militarisation.

Reportage on a girl group, named *Troepies* ['Troops'], from the Agricultural High School in Kroonstad, in the March 1984 issue of *Paratus*, illustrate a further example of youth participation and the blurred civilian and military boundaries. These girls won a talent competition on the TV youth programme *Kraaines* ['Crow's Nest'] with their rendition of Leon Schuster's song, 'Ag man, dis lekker in die Army' ['Oh man, it's great in the Army']. They were rewarded with visits to the SABC and SADF, honorary colours by their school and invitations to perform at churches, theatres and debating societies (*Kraaines se 'Troepies' wen kompetisie*, 1984:23). Descriptions of 'lively young ladies', 'pride of the High Agricultural School' and 'stepping out like full soldiers victorious from the battle' applied to these girls conveyed an image of the soldier as proud, victorious, worthy and dynamic in an exciting environment (the Army), a role that would reap rewards (such as honorary colours). The fact that the girls played the roles of troops created a perceived ideal of aspiring towards a career in the Army. Invitations to perform music at churches, theatres and debating societies, is an indication of civilian reception and acceptance the military presence, as well as the fact that music can play a role to convey a military ethos.



Figure 7: *Kraaines se 'Troepies' wen kompetisie* (1984:22).

The above-mentioned examples illustrate informal and somewhat entertaining ways in which to sensitise the youth militarily. A formal way in involving the youth included the cadet movement, as discussed below.

5.1.1 The Cadet Movement and Youth Preparedness

The importance of the cadet movement was emphasised in *Commando* and *Paratus* through regular publications on its history and activities and advocating its necessity within the military (Border War) context of the day. Markers of importance included allocations from the Defence Budget towards the school cadet system (Alexander, 2000:286-287; Evans, 1989:283-297; Frankel, 1984:98-100), private funding, advertising campaigns at schools, Citizen Force units, on radio, in the media and via vocational information organisations (Alexander, 2000:277); there were regular features in SADF publications on school cadet competitions and the history of the movement at national and local level. It was reported that the cadets received funding of R70 000 from Santam Bank (Furter, 1989b:32). Sponsorship from a high-profile financial entity such as Santam indicates their approval of the war effort through their involvement in shaping the youth to become the next generation of soldiers. Targeting civilians from school level through to vocational information organisations shaped the attitudes of learners at a young age to be in line with military ideals, linking this to the vocational level whereby the Defence Force was seen as a full-time career option.

The cadet movement had its origins in Natal (1869), from where it gradually spread throughout the country (Furter, 1989b:32). The histories of several schools and their detachments received prominent write-ups in *Paratus*. These included the Oudtshoorn High School, Higher Technical and Langenhoven High Schools, the Wesbank, Adderley and Noordeinde Primary Schools (Die Kadette van Oudtshoorn, 1970:26-27, 29), the Cadet Corps of Wynberg Boys' High School (Wynberg Boys' High School, 1970:31, 33), Durban High School (Ingle, 1971:84) and the Cadet Detachment 794 of Christian Brothers' College (Cadet Detachment 794, 1972:36-37, 58). After 1913 the number of 3 300 cadets increased to more than 100 000 and ultimately reaching more than 200 000 decades later (Ford, 1989a:20), at 658 cadet detachments in the country by March 1985 (Cawthra, 1986:56) and 679 detachments of more than 205 000 boys, 255 drill platoons, 17 bands and 68 shooting teams for girls by 1989 (Furter, 1989b:32). The Naval Cadet Corps (HQ in Port Elizabeth), with its roots in Britain and overseen by the Navy

League for the ten years before 1979, consisted of 50 officers and 498 cadets, of whom 71 were girls (Curnick, 1979:23).¹⁵⁷ The movement was based on the Defence Act of 1912 and had not undergone many changes since its inception (Die Kadetbeweging, 1970:25).

The Defence Act (Act No. 44) of 1957 stipulated the training of school cadets for South Africans aged 12-17 and National Service from 17 to 65 years (Alexander, 2000:273), with changes in 1971 in preparation for full conscription and the incorporation of the youth preparedness programme (Alexander, 2000:286-287).¹⁵⁸ The change in the system therefore supported the trajectory of learners from school to conscription and then employment after conscription. Girls could participate voluntarily in drill teams (Alexander, 2000:286-287; Furter, 1989b:32). As girls, in principle, did not serve in the army, military ideals were instilled in them by means of participation in these drill teams. The SA Naval Cadet Corps, also referred to as the 'kindertuin' [kindergarten] of the Navy (SA Vlootkadetkorps: Liefde vir die see en RSA vier hoogty, 1982:20), hosted boys and girls aged 13 to 18 years (Curnick, 1979:23), although later publications indicated a starting age of 11 years (SA Vlootkadetkorps: Liefde vir die see en RSA vier hoogty, 1982:21). The Port Elizabeth Naval Cadet Corps sent the first Indian naval cadet unit (boys aged 13 to 17) for training at SAS Jalsena in 1981 (First Indian naval cadets, 1981:44), by which time the Naval Cadet movement in general was already established. From the above, one can conclude that the different SADF divisions had their representative cadet sections, also divided according to race, which was in line with the South African government's apartheid ideology.

The ratio of the band to the prestigious honorary guards and total number of learners may be used as a way to gauge the importance of music amongst the cadets and military. This ratio was

¹⁵⁷ See also Curnick (1979:22-23), 'Memorable night for PE Naval Cadets' (1979:45) and 'New HQ for PE Naval Cadet Corps' (1980:14-15) for a short historical overview of the SA Navy League and the SA Naval Cadet Corps, as well as for more on the history of the SA Naval Cadet Corps.

¹⁵⁸ Although the cadet system involved secondary school learners, there were also occasions where this form of militarisation was extended to early school learners, with the involvement of teachers and parents. One example is the Ermelo Primary School's Cadet Band consisting of 45 members ranging from the ages of 8 to 13 years. Headed by a teacher at the Primary School and responsible for its own funding, the band collaborated with an orchestra committee consisting of parents of the band members. Their 20 to 30 performances per year included charity events, processions, and outdoor events, playing for guests of the SADF and at band competitions (Unieke kadetorkes bring vreugde aan baie mense, 1984:48).

as follows: for more than 200 boys, the honorary guard was to be 103 with a band of 25 boys and for 100-199 boys, an honorary guard of 53 and band of 15 boys. With less than 100 boys, teachers then decided the numbers of the band and honorary guard (Die Kadetbeweging, 1970:25). In relation to the honorary guard, the band size thus ranged from approximately 25% to approximately 28%, which is a significant proportion indicating that music was valued as important. The honorary guard was to participate in school and public occasions, where they were to perform flag ceremonies, and to be trained in marksmanship, map reading and basic bush craft. The Army assisted with training and equipment (rifles, band instruments and uniforms) (1970:25). This, once again, indicates the collaboration between the SADF and civil society, directly investing in people as future resources in service of the country.

From the examples of Oudtshoorn, Wynberg and Durban High Schools, one notes the learners' participation in camps, shooting practice, cadet bands, parades and competitions (Die Kadette van Oudtshoorn, 1970:26; Wynberg Boys' High School, 1970:31, 33; Ingle, 1971:84; Cadet Detachment 794, 1972:36-37, 58). Learners were offered specific training in warfare, enemy threat, SADF organisation, discipline, security, intelligence, first aid, navigation, survival, camouflage, bush craft, civilian action, drill, saluting, and handling equipment (Weiner, 1985:44-45).¹⁵⁹ Navy cadet training included rope work, communications, seamanship, parade ground work and sailing (SA Vlootkadetkorps: Liefde vir die see, 1982:21). These activities took place in preparation for National Service, as illustrated by the afore-mentioned examples and by the Diocesan College in Rondebosch, Cape Town's air, land and sea training for its 'miniature Defence Force' (Bishops' cadets point the way, 1982:44-45).¹⁶⁰ Besides cadet training offered, phraseology such as training 'future soldiers for the SADF' (Our NSMs of tomorrow learn the ropes, 1981:34) is also an explicit reminder of the cadet system paving the way for National Service.

The cadet programme also offered students an opportunity to learn to play an instrument, as deduced from a remark by Std 9 learner André Roux, who became a member of the band

¹⁵⁹ See also 'Kadette hul skool se trots' ['Cadets the pride of their school'] (1983:76-77).

¹⁶⁰ Photographs and descriptions in 'Full session of "army life" for cadet leaders' (1981:80-81) and 'Our NSMs of tomorrow learn the ropes' (1981:34-35) further illustrate the military nature of cadet training camps.

without being able to read music (Kollig op ons jeug, 1983:80). Evidence of band training can be seen in the examples of SAS Wingfield (Full session of ‘army life’ for cadet leaders, 1981:80-81) in aspects such as practical band training, music theory, correct playing and drilling (Our NSMs of tomorrow learn the ropes, 1981:35; Kollig op ons jeug: Waarde van kadette bewys, 1983:79). The photograph below (Our NSMs of tomorrow learn the ropes, 1981:34) depicts a band at a camp in Rustenburg, fully dressed in cadet uniforms, similar to SADF bush uniforms.



Figure 8: Our NSMs of tomorrow learn the ropes (1981:34).

Distinction was also made between boys and girls drill platoons (Ford, 1989a:21).¹⁶¹ Evidence of girls’ bands can be found at the unveiling of the cornerstone of new Headquarters for the Hartbeesfontein Commando (Hartbeesfontein-Kommando, 1982:32), the launching of a girls’ band in Kroonstad (Op Kroonstad is kadet-wees ‘n ernstige saak, 1983:47) and the band of the Oranje Girls High School in Bloemfontein, founded in 1972 as one of the first girls’ bands that used cadet instruments, later incorporating various other instruments. Performances included the Republic Festival and Amajuba Festivals, as well as church ceremonies, weddings and

¹⁶¹ See also ‘Op Kroonstad is kadet-wees ‘n ernstige saak’ [‘At Kroonstad, being a cadet is a serious matter’] (1983:47).

funerals. The suggestion of presupposed ideas of gender is highlighted in the mention that this band was not to be compared to boys' bands and that their drilling methods were adapted to a more feminine style (Met musiek dra hulle die beeld uit, 1982:72). As the title of the article suggests, 'With music they convey the image', it is clear that music played a role in conveying certain ideological notions of prestige linked to the Army and the ideals of the government of the day.

Starting with music from scratch and being afforded the opportunity to play an instrument in a band, resonates with the practicalities of various military bands (as can be seen in Chapter Seven). Music performed by cadet bands featured at cadet competitions, official events, Freedom of Entry parades,¹⁶² and memorial services.¹⁶³ This provided performance opportunities to musicians from the military environment, which opened possibilities for performances in civilian spaces where the military and civilian spheres interacted. Through contributions by skilled civilian musicians and by cadet participation, school learners were drawn into the rhythms of a militarised society.

These examples of school participation demonstrate the extent to which cadet training was taken seriously as preparation for National Service. Occasional reference in *Paratus* also made no secret of the role of the school in preparing future soldiers for National Service. The February 1984 issue of *Paratus* explicitly noted the function of the state school as an academic institution and to prepare citizens for the future to deal with the perceived communist threat. Cadets thus played an important role by being militarily prepared, which was also regarded as a step in the military progression of 'boys becoming men' (Só het die seuns manne geword, 1981:54-55). This is a characteristic of militarised societies, where subjects need to pass through certain rites such as cadets and conscription to become fully-fledged citizens.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² See, for example, Furter (1989a:32-33), Holliday (1968:37-39), 'State President urges cadets' (1981:17), Kallenbach (1969:34-37) and 'An unique honour for the Queens College Cadets' (1984:35).

¹⁶³ See, for example, 'R.L.I. memorial service' (1969:67).

¹⁶⁴ Further examples of cadets as forerunners, preparers or pavers towards military conscription, made in *Paratus*, include, 'The school cadet system goes a long way to preparing our youth for their National Service' (Cadets impress public, 1978:6) and 'Brave soldiers of the future' (Heldhaftige soldate van die toekoms, 1979:24-25).

Judging by the military nature of the cadet movement and the military content and style of their training, one could say that, in essence, conscription started from a young age with boys' involvement in the cadet movement, which was intended to prepare learners for a possible future career in the military. Although they were not soldiers actively involved in combat, there was an expectation of their 'helping to protect the country' from a young age, within the context of a perceived danger.¹⁶⁵ Weiner's (1985:44) remark of not 'attempting to make a soldier out of him' seems to stand in direct contrast to the contents of the programme. Through the kinds of writings illustrated here, we also have a fair idea of how civilians and in particular the youth were drawn into the military sphere from a young age and how the nationalist ideals of the South African government within the context of the perceived communist threat during the Cold War were inculcated in the youth through the offering of programmes of a military nature.

5.1.1.1 Cadet competitions

Cadet competitions evaluated the participation of detachments in three sections: the drill squad, cadet band and marksmanship (Furter, 1989b:32). The drill squad and cadet band competitions took place on regional and national levels, while the marksmanship competitions took place on regional, national and international levels (Furter, 1989b:32).¹⁶⁶ In 1988, for example, 645 secondary schools participated in 10 Commands countrywide and each Command had a competition to determine the winners within the drill squad and cadet band sections on national and Command level (for example, Far North, Eastern Transvaal, Northern Transvaal, Witwatersrand, North West, Orange Free State, Natal, Eastern Province, Northern Cape and Western Cape, although the Western Cape Command did not participate) (Skoolkadette se heel bestes aangewys, 1989:13). The national involvement of these cadet competitions (which incorporated music and audiences from various sectors of society) was thus an indication of

Cadets were prepared for National Service by means of basic military knowledge to help protect their country, 'without attempting to make a soldier out of him' (Weiner, 1985:44-45).

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, 'State President urges cadets' (1981:17) and 'Kadette vorm bolwerk teen die Kommunisme' ['Cadets form bulwark against Communism'] (1984:34-35).

¹⁶⁶ See also 'The best' (1981:51), where at the various levels of competition in the Transvaal region, participants were judged on the clarity of commands, confidence, correcting their faults, timing and control of the squad.

the geographical extent of militarisation by means of organised programmes at school level, and that music played a role in this process. Prizes at a Western Province Command competition were awarded in the categories of Best senior drill platoon, Best drill platoon sergeant, Best junior drill platoon, Best junior drill platoon sergeant, Best band, Best drum major, Best bugle player, Best trumpeter, Best side drum player, Best tenor drum division, Best bass drum division, Best band (Class B) and then the best in the shooting categories. A Sanlam trophy was awarded to the best average in all categories (Twee skole oorheers kadetkompetiesie, 1982:21, 23).¹⁶⁷ The award by Sanlam is an indication of the private business sector supporting the military ideals instilled in learners at school level. The regional Western Transvaal competition at Potchefstroom involving 26 schools (seventeen bands, 23 drill platoons, and 24 junior and 25 senior shooting teams) illustrates the extent of school involvement at such competitions at regional level. This event featured individual competitions for trumpeters, bugle players and side drum majors. Although the winners were announced, no mention was made of the actual format of the competition or of the music that was played at the occasion (Van Rensburg, 1984:20).¹⁶⁸ Without doubt, the inclusion of the cadet band section in these competitions is an indication that music was valued as an important component of the military sphere. In earlier centuries the military band had played an active role in encouraging soldiers, but the later function of the band became a focus of display, where the task of the band was to be in step and to keep the rest of the group in step, exercising military discipline. Considering the ceremonial aspect of the band, the musicians would also have contributed to the visual dimension of the military.

5.1.1.2 Public events

Cadet bands further had the privilege of participating at notable public events, such as the Opening of Parliament, SADF birthday celebrations, Freedom of Entry parades, and commemorations of buildings, institutions and individuals. Mass cadet displays were organised to convey the image of cadets to large audiences. An event at St. George's Park in Port

¹⁶⁷ See also 'Cream of Cape Province's cadets compete' (1983:64-65) and 'HTS Ficksburg se orkeste skitter in kompetisie' ['Ficksburg's bands excel in competition'] (1986:6).

¹⁶⁸ The same applies for Maas's (1984:21) article on the Western Cape competition in the same issue of *Paratus*.

Elizabeth, organised by the Eastern Province Command in 1979 (the second of its kind in the region featuring flag and mass band displays, a revue parade, retreat ceremony and drum majorettes), involved more than 600 cadets representing 14 schools in Port Elizabeth (Mass display at P.E., 1979:33). The combination of parades, drum majorettes and band performances staged in public, mostly took place in the presence of dignitaries and appreciative audiences, suggesting that everything was happening at these events. These mass occasions did not easily pass by without a measure of propaganda,¹⁶⁹ as found with the opening of the military base at Komga, the participation of the Stutterheim Cadet band and a speech recognising the role of the military base as protector of the community, equated with a guard dog loyal to its family, as well as the recurring topic of terrorism (Roodt, 1985e:26-27). For the Opening of Parliament in 1987, for example, a photograph of Navy cadets outside the House of Assembly provides proof of a cadet presence at this occasion, although no particular description was given (Cohen, 1987c:33). Reportage regarding the SADF 75th anniversary, highlighted the Potchefstroom High School for Boys' Cadet Band as '[symbolising] the future of the SADF' (Van de Venter, 1987b:7), which is indicative of the importance of investing in the youth as future soldiers, and in this, music conveyed this message. Public events aided to highlight the achievements of individuals or groups in military fashion, as illustrated by the example of the Pretoria Boys' High School Pipe Band. Starting off as a bugle band, the Pipe Band was later established in 1971 (Furter, 1989a:33). As the 'only pipe band in the parade' that performed at the SADF Service of Remembrance at Fort Klapperkop in Pretoria and Smuts Koppie in Irene, they also had the opportunity to lead the President's Parade through Pretoria in 1983, a 'distinction [not to be] forgotten' (Mills, 1988:11). 'Steeped in military history and tradition' (Cadets receive Colour from Gen Geldenhuys, 1987:4), they were the only official cadet pipe band in the Northern Transvaal Command area (Cadets receive Colour from Gen Geldenhuys, 1987:4; Furter, 1989a:33). This illustrates that a focus on military histories and traditions assisted in playing a role in the normalization of militarisation. Further distinctions included their victory in the Pipe Band Association of South Africa School Pipe Band Championships in Durban in

¹⁶⁹ Another example is the speech of the Head of the SADF, General Viljoen, on the topic of communism at the unveiling of the cornerstone of the new Headquarters for the Hartbeesfontein Commando (Hartbeesfontein-Kommando, 1982:32).

1987 (Cadets receive Colour from Gen Geldenhuys, 1987:4) and their participation in the 75th anniversary celebration of Regiment Pretoria (Steyn, 1988b:9). By putting the spotlight on the achievements and military traditions of the band, a certain perception was created as an ideal for which boys could strive. The example of the Pretoria Boys' High School Pipe Band set the tone as a model band that had the privilege of leading the President's Parade through Pretoria. The participation of these bands in various civilian and military events in the presence of the public indicates the involvement of a broader South African society. Although no description of music is given, it can be assumed that military music or music with military inflections would have been played at these kinds of events where the public and military connected, and this is an indication of music aiding militarisation.

Further examples of public display included the Queens College Cadet Detachment No. 3's award of the Freedom of Entry to Queenstown (a first for a Cadet Detachment), bringing the centre of town to a halt (An unique honour for the Queens College Cadets, 1984:35). This kind of act parallels the Freedom of Entry to Towns awarded to soldiers and confirms the military preparation of school children to become soldiers, where they could already experience and look forward to the privileges of being a soldier. In the presence of the masses witnessing the parade and buying into the idea of militarisation, the occasion was also recorded by the state controlled SABC, which brought the principles of militarisation into the homes. This type of presentation and the widespread broadcasting of it created the perception of a norm also to be seen as a desirable part of life, especially being rewarded with the highest honours. Part of the procedure included inspection of the cadets and the Queens College Brass and Bugle Bands by the Mayor, who highlighted in his speech 'the ultimate sacrifice' of four former Queens College members 'for the school and land they love in the Border War'. In full military tradition, the Officer Commanding of the Cadet Detachment accepted the address. Afterwards, a Trooping the Colour ceremony took place, complete with inspection and salute (An unique honour for the Queens College Cadets, 1984:35). Already from a young age, learners were taught to value the militaristic ideals of nationalist South African society by highlighting the importance of the Border War and of bravery and sacrifice, memorialised in mind, deed and monument, while the music performed at these events, played a role in conveying these ideals.

Soldier memorialisation functions at schools can also be seen in the examples of the commemoration of the South African College Schools' 'old boys' who served in the two World

Wars and Anglo-Boer War (SACS hold Commemoration Day, 1985:48-49), and in the unveiling of a memorial plaque for former Drostdy Technical High School (Worcester) learner Johannes Leonardus Truter, who made ‘the ultimate sacrifice in the defence of South Africa’ so that ‘his loved ones could live’.¹⁷⁰ The photograph accompanying the short report of this event (Figure 9) shows saluting school cadets, Brigadier A.K. de Jager (saluting), Truter’s mother and wreaths in the foreground (School unveils plaque for soldier, 1987:9). Even though the mother is surrounded by various male figures, the caption to the photograph specifically refers to ‘the mother of the deceased soldier’ (omitting the father).



Figure 9: School unveils plaque for soldier (1987:9).

The photographs below depict the annual memorial service held by the Rand Light Infantry (R.L.I.) at St. Mary’s Cathedral, Johannesburg. Lead by the band of the Highlands North Boys’

¹⁷⁰ Further examples of the memorialisation (at schools) of those who had lost their lives in the service of their country during wars, are illustrated the examples of engraving the names on a roll of honour in a school hall (Die Kadette van Oudtshoorn, 1970:29; Ingle, 1971:84) or dedicating structures to those who lost their lives during past wars (Wynberg Boys’ High School, 1970:33). The Wynberg Boys’ High School’s memorial gates were dedicated to the memory of learners who fought in ‘His Majesty’s Forces’ in World War I and the swimming baths to those who died during World War II (Wynberg Boys’ High School, 1970:33). The Durban High School War Memorial listed the names of those ‘hundreds of Old Boys and one-time cadets who made the supreme sacrifice for their country’ (Ingle, 1971:84).

High School, the procession started at the Union Grounds and marched through the city to the cathedral. The Service took note of the Division's fine record ('which they are justly proud' of), including their achievements during both World Wars (R.L.I. memorial service, 1969:67). The boys were afforded the opportunity to be visible to the public within a military context, which was also seen as part of an achievement. Although no description of the music is given, the photographs illustrate the marching cadet band in uniform, with snare drums and brass instruments, leading the Rand Light Infantry. Presumably, the sound of the marching rhythm and brass band accompanying the military procession, which is spanning parts of the city as civilian space, creates the impression of a carnival type atmosphere that can be inviting to audiences.



Figure 10: Rand Light Infantry led by the Highlands North Boys' High School band (R.L.I. memorial service, 1969:67).

A certain detail of the ceremony, inclusive of the role of cadets during the tribute to Field Marshal Smuts,¹⁷¹ included the Pretoria Naval cadets forming the Guard of Honour while trumpeters of the Air Force Band played the 'Last Post' and 'Reveille', and the Pretoria Boys'

¹⁷¹ Formerly Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa and Minister of Finance and Defence during the establishment of the Union Defence Force.

High pipe band giving the ‘Lament’. The service was conducted by SADF Chaplain Padre F. Cilliers. Others present at this occasion included veterans (Memorable Order of Tin Hats – MOTHs), representatives of various SADF branches, notable people from civil society and high-ranking military staff (Pressly, 1988:53). The ‘Last Post’, ‘Reveille’ and ‘Lament’ are distinct military sounds and in the context of this event, would have evoked a sense of pride and heroism associated with the military.

Honouring the brave people who lost their lives in wars during parades and public events instilled in boys the idea of an honourable death in service of one’s country, by which one’s name will be memorialised. The presence of the cadets and the associated ceremonies in military fashion point in the direction of military service as a man’s heroic duty. It can be assumed that music formed part of the militarisation process of these events, whether it was by mere bugle calls or by beating the rhythm in marches. It is also interesting to note that one can distinguish nuances of militarisation at traditionally English and Afrikaans schools; Afrikaans schools, in honouring people of the past, focused on those who were to become soldiers,¹⁷² compared to English schools, which placed more emphasis on English royalty and the past in honouring dead heroes).¹⁷³ A comment by Father Tom O’Sullivan on the Christian Brothers’ College Cadet Detachment’s participation in the annual St. Patrick’s Day parade in Green Point, Cape Town (Cadet Detachment 794, 1972:36), referred to the feeling of pride when marching towards Main Road and the inspection that strongly conveys a sense of military belonging. The participation by youths in various kinds of public events is therefore a further affirmation of the military ideals professed by the government.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² See, for example, ‘Die Kadette van Oudtshoorn’ [‘The Cadets of Oudtshoorn’] (1970:26-27, 29).

¹⁷³ See, for example, ‘Wynberg Boys’ High School’ (1970:31, 33) and the example of the Durban High School Cadet Battalion, where 80 cadets joined regular troops and volunteer regiments for a parade for the Queen’s Birthday in 1871 and where the Durban High School Cadet Battalion paraded for the then Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York and the Crown Prince of Portugal’ (Ingle, 1971:84).

¹⁷⁴ See, for example, the participation of Wynberg Boys’ High School in events such as the University of Cape Town Rag, Community Chest Carnivals (1979), the Cape Town Festival (1984) (Louw, 1985:15) and the SACC School Band’s participation in a commemoration service at Villiersdorp, where they also had the opportunity to hear General Viljoen’s speech on communism (Villiersdorp vergeet nie gesneuweldes, 1982:27).

Together with the SADF, cadets were also required to perform at public shows. Examples include performances of the St Paul's College cadet band at the Windhoek Show (The Windhoek show, 1985:52-53) and the four best bands of Witwatersrand Command (High School Linden, High School Alberton, High School Brakpan and Springs Boys High) performing at the Rand Show (Van Wyk, 1988a:12). These public activities, based on the mutual engagement of the public and military institutions, point to ways of inculcating into civilians a hero worship of the military by means of military display.



Figure 11: St Pauls College cadets (The Windhoek show, 1985:52-53).

Although no specific descriptions of the music performed exist in most reportage related to these various events, which often involved members from all groupings of South African society (the military, military veterans, the church, state officials and civilians) one can assume that the music would have been performed predominantly by brass instruments, accompanied by drums beating a marching rhythm, which is a particular military sound and which evokes a particular military ethos, creating ideal scenarios for militarisation. This is where the public and military interacted and where such events were infused with military music.

5.2 Conscription

The three branches of the SADF (Army, Navy and Air Force) broadly included Permanent Force members with full-time careers and National Servicemen as part-time force (Grundy, 1983:101-102, 107). For National Service, the ballot system was introduced in 1951 where one out of three fit white South African males was conscripted for two to three months of training, known as the Active Citizen Force (ACF) (Blake, 2009:263-264).¹⁷⁵ The ballot system in the SADF was replaced in 1967 by the conscription of white South African and South West African males (Cawthra, 1986:19) and extended to six and nine months and eventually to ten months in 1968 (Blake, 2009:263-264).¹⁷⁶ Compulsory conscription lasted for a period of two years – as a result of an increase in insurgencies from Angola (Blake, 2009:267) – followed by annual camps over the course of fifteen years.¹⁷⁷ The initial two-year period required six months in the operational area, while the camps also required some border service (Conway, 2008:77). In 1967 cadet training was extended to coloured citizens,¹⁷⁸ while black and white police forces were sent to patrol the borders (Davenport, 1987:429). Conscription for black residents was introduced in October 1980 (Cawthra, 1986:193-194), which included black Namibians (1986:72-73). The commando system was introduced as an ‘Area Defence’ system, because of the increase in MK activities, to protect farmers and residents in rural areas. These entities consisted of a large volunteer corps, with some black men incorporated into the system from 1978 and mostly older white men from 1982. Residents in isolated areas were linked by the Military Area Radio Network (MARNET) for communication (Cawthra, 1986:229-233). Starting in 1970, women could join the Army Women's College at George (Cape Province) for a year, with the option to join the Permanent Force afterwards (Cawthra, 1986:65). Conscription intakes took place twice a year: January and July (Blake, 2009:267).¹⁷⁹ After the withdrawal of the Cuban and South African forces from Angola from 1988,¹⁸⁰ conscription was

¹⁷⁵ Callister (2007:1, 34) gives the date as 1952.

¹⁷⁶ Discrepancies in the total of months appear between Callister (2007:39) and Blake (2009:263-264).

¹⁷⁷ Discrepancies in the total number of years of camps appear between Callister (2007:39) and Conway (2008:77).

¹⁷⁸ Cawthra (1986:66) gives the date as 1968.

¹⁷⁹ See also Callister (2007:39).

¹⁸⁰ The Cuban forces withdrew from Angola in 1991 (SAHO, n.d.b).

reduced to one and a half years in 1990 and to one year in 1991. The last compulsory intake took place in 1993, (Blake, 2009:268). Towards the end of the war (by 1990) some 600 000 white men had undergone military training, with just over half (320 000) deployed to the border (Williams, 2008:22) and with 1 722 SADF casualties recorded (Blake, 2009:268).¹⁸¹ In 1984 the government, in an attempt to expand its military capacity, recruited mercenaries from neighbouring countries into the SADF (for example, 32 and 201 Battalions) and joined with forces such as UNITA from Angola and MNR from Mozambique (Cawthra, 1986:76-77).

Before venturing into the recruitment of black soldiers, I will first give a short overview of some counterinsurgency measures, which included the homelands where black soldiers were recruited after their training in South Africa. Black participation in the SADF's Civic Action Programme (CAP) was fundamental in counterinsurgency (Evans, 1983:35; De Visser, 2011:86) to gain support from the local population to neutralise hostility (Galula, 1964:52-55). These programmes entailed the deployment of SADF members as teachers and doctors, and providing agricultural and various other forms of aid locally and to the homelands (Cooper, 1989:180) in order to encourage loyalty from local populations towards the SADF (Evans, 1983:35).¹⁸² In line with the apartheid government's segregation policies, homelands were created for black citizens according to ethnicity (Khunou, 2009:90), a concept that can already be traced back to Verwoerd (Davenport, 1987:389-394).¹⁸³ Although four of these homelands became 'independent', they were still controlled by the apartheid state through ties with the SADF and through 'non-aggression' agreements (Cawthra 1986:125-129; Cooper, 1989:177-178). The six remaining homelands resorted under regional units under direct SADF command, rather than having their own military forces (Cawthra 1986:130) The creation of the homelands

¹⁸¹ Williams (2008:24) writes that between 25 000 and 30 000 men per year received training after the implementation of National Service for lengths of between nine and twelve months.

¹⁸² See, for example, 'NSM helped deliver baby by radio' (1982:102), Roodt (1986a:14-17), 'The SADF a friend in need to SA blacks' (1978:10-11), 'NDPs word geskool in volkere-verhoudinge' ['NSMs skilled in human relations'] (1978:12-13), Motsei (1978:7), 'Community project for coloureds' (1988:10-11), Roodt, 1986a:14-17, and "n Helpende hand: Dienspligtiges in die Tuislande' ['A helping hand: National Servicemen in the homelands'] (1978:24-25).

¹⁸³ In total, ten homelands were created in South Africa. These were the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Venda, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa, and QwaQwa (Khunou, 2009:89).

spread from a fear of domination by black people; therefore it was decided to divide blacks according to ethnicity, as mentioned above, where they were then responsible for their own administration (Khunou, 2009:89).

Each of these four independent homelands eventually had their own defence forces, responsible for protecting the homelands in line with the apartheid government's requirements. From 1974, black soldiers were recruited into the SADF and the homeland units such as the Transkei,¹⁸⁴ Bophuthatswana and Venda, and the ethnically based regional units of 111, 112, 113 and 121 Battalions, with their training facilities at Lenz near Bloemfontein (the base of 21 Battalion), formerly the Bantu Army Training Centre (1974) (Cawthra, 1986:70; Evans, 1983:29).¹⁸⁵ After their training, the recruits for the homelands were placed out to bases in their respective independent countries. New intakes were then trained by these initial recruits, while advanced training still took place at 21 Battalion (Cawthra 1986:125). These forces were trained in counterinsurgency warfare and assisted with keeping internal peace, as well as with defending South Africa against guerrillas and the communist threat (Cooper, 1989:175, 178-180; Cawthra, 1986:125).¹⁸⁶

Although black soldiers initially took on non-combat roles, several were involved in operational duties in Namibia in 1978 (Cawthra, 1986:70-71),¹⁸⁷ where it appears that they took on more prominent front-line roles with a high combat burden, as opposed to white recruits (1986:71-72). The initial recruitment of black members into non-combat roles stemmed from a fear that they would turn against the apartheid government. This can also be seen in articles in *Paratus* that emphasized the loyalty of black recruits with quotes such as 'No terrorist will kill anybody on my side of the border while I am around ..!' (Quote by Private

¹⁸⁴ In 1976, the Transkei and Namibian units received training at 21 Battalion (Cawthra, 1986:70-71).

¹⁸⁵ During World War Two, the Native Military Corps was already organised according to ethnicity (Grundy, 1983:30-75).

¹⁸⁶ With the exception of 201 Battalion that was created in 1974, most of the black battalions were created later in the 1970s (see Chapter Seven) as border operations started escalating.

¹⁸⁷ See Grundy (1983:30-62) about black and coloured soldiers in non-combatant roles, dating back to the late 1600s. Part of this was also playing ethnic groups off against each other as a manner of control. It is also noted that during the time of the Second World War, Zulu soldiers were armed with spears and knobkieries (Grundy, 1983:75, 81-82).

T.P. Maketha in 'This is how 21 (Black) Battalion prepared for border duty', 1978:5), or black wives encouraging their husbands to fight for their country (Burke & Economides, 1975:8). Black police members did, in fact, take on combat roles in the Caprivi Strip and Rhodesia in 1972 (Cawthra, 1986:66, 69; Grundy, 1983:44-45).

The SADF offered officer training and urban African battalions were created, where, by 1979, Commandos were recruiting black members. By 1980, over 500 black soldiers were recruited into 21 Battalion per year, where the highest rank to be obtained was that of Staff Sergeant. Incentives for recruitment included defending their country, job security, housing, pension and education. Rural communities participating in counterinsurgency were to turn against guerrillas who would have returned to areas where they were recruited (Evans, 1983:30). The SADF wanted to create the belief that the onslaught against the country was not a black struggle against white domination, but rather a struggle of all racial groupings against communism (Evans, 1983:28; Cooper, 1989:175),¹⁸⁸ and that community leaders supported the SADF in defending South Africa (Cawthra, 1986:71). This was to be bolstered through black participation in the SADF (Evans, 1983:28).

Coloured recruits into the SADF served auxiliary and non-combat functions, and could, from 1972, join as Permanent Force members (Evans, 1983:31-32). From 1968 to 1979, it was compulsory for coloured youth in the Western Cape to attend cadet training as a forerunner for service at Eersterivier, after which they were placed out at various employers. Employing youth in this capacity aided towards ideological control of young coloured people (Cawthra, 1986:66-68). Voluntary National Service for coloured people was introduced in 1972 as part of a Special Service Battalion, initially for one year, which increased to two years in 1980. From 1975, they received infantry training, after which they were employed for border duty the following year (Cawthra, 1986:68). In 1975, they were awarded equal status to white members, whereby white members were expected to salute non-white members. In 1980, the SA Cape Corps was integrated into the Permanent Force, with an annual intake of 2 000 (Evans, 1983:31-32;

¹⁸⁸ See, for example, 'The Communists are not only the White man's problem' (1978:8-9).

Cawthra, 1986:68). As with black recruits, coloured recruits joined for economic and job security reasons (Evans, 1983:31-32; Cawthra, 1986:68).

Recruitment for Indian soldiers existed mostly in the Navy from 1975 (Cawthra, 1986:68), serving at SAS Jalsena in non-combat duties, except for where self-defence was necessary (Evans, 1983:32). Indian men were able to join the Permanent Force after 22 months of Voluntary National Service. Although no border duty seems to have been required, men from the part-time Commando in Durban volunteered for active service in 1984 (Cawthra, 1986:68). By September 1980, one-third of the navy consisted of coloured and Indian recruits (Evans, 1983:32). By 1985, almost 1 000 Indian, 1 700 coloured and 431 black recruits were involved in the Commandos (Cawthra, 1986:69).

An increase in ANC guerrilla activities in 1982 called for an extension of conscription for white men resulting in a short supply of white manpower.¹⁸⁹ This also meant the increase in recruiting black soldiers (Evans, 1983:29). Although this provided a possibility for coloured and Indian conscription, it could not materialise since these groups were afforded no voting rights (Cawthra, 1986:69; Evans, 1983:33-34) and due to inadequate finances, facilities and human resources to accommodate large numbers of coloured and Indian applicants (Evans, 1983:33-34). Although the SADF promoted itself as 'multi-racial', as also promoted through *Paratus* as mouthpiece for the State, suggesting that black and white soldiers were on equal levels, the SADF followed the institutional model of apartheid where people of colour took on subordinate roles and where units were formed along racial lines with black soldiers eventually placed out into homeland units and armies (Cawthra, 1986:71-72; Evans, 1983:28-29; Grundy, 1983:81-89, 120-121).

Considering the context of compulsory conscription for white SADF members, one might assume that recruitment into the liberation movements would have been voluntary as reaction

¹⁸⁹ Grundy (1983:63-66) notes that there was already limited white manpower in the run-up to the Second World War, while Evans (1983:29) refers to a high turnover of SADF staff leaving for the private sector and where black soldiers provided a cheaper option.

to the apartheid state's violent suppression. Although this may have been the case, there also seems to have been incidents where SWAPO abducted children for military purposes (Ramsden, 2009:136; Steenkamp, 1989:190),¹⁹⁰ indoctrinating them towards communism (Ramsden, 2009:145),¹⁹¹ similar to how SADF conscripts were indoctrinated to fear and hate 'terrorists' (2009:281). Ramsden confirms the existence of indoctrination on the side of both the SADF and the liberation movements. Many PLAN combatants in exile received their training in countries such as Tanzania, Algeria, Cuba, Egypt, China, the Soviet Union, North Korea and People's Republic of China (Steenkamp 1989:21), Angola, Zambia, East Germany and Czechoslovakia (Ramsden, 2009:78). Conditioning towards accepting the SADF started from a young age by means of a strong visual and aural military presence (radio reports, and 'Ride Safe' campaigns) (Blake, 2009:4-5), by means of cadets, the presence of military instructors, marching during youth preparedness classes (2009:12-13) and receiving their first call-up instructions in matric (2009:6).¹⁹² For some conscripts, such as Bakkes (2008:3), the need to defend the country goes back generations to the time of the Anglo-Boer War. He refers to losing his grandmother during this War through the British 'scorched earth' ventures, which left his mother orphaned. This instilled an anti-British sentiment in him and served as motivation to join the pro-German *Ossewa-Brandwag* organisation during the Second World War, paving the way for his military career. Subsequent generations were still burdened by these brutal events, something the SADF capitalised on.¹⁹³

As conformity and obedience were constituents of conscription, disciplinary problems were often encountered (Conway, 2008:80). People from different backgrounds viewed conscription with varying degrees of enthusiasm: from 'becoming state property' to fulfilling one's 'call of

¹⁹⁰ See also Bothma (2009:145), who claims that SWAPO abducted learners from school for recruitment purposes.

¹⁹¹ See, for example, 'Children in the front line' (1986:16-17) and 'Representatives of the world's youth meet in Moscow for a common interest' (1985:19-25).

¹⁹² White boys had to register as soon as they turned 16 (Williams, 2008:23).

¹⁹³ See Warwick (2009) in general about Afrikaans and English sentiments and identities based on the time of the Anglo-Boer War. On pp. 328-329 he specifically refers to the SADF's use of images of 'boer' and 'volk'. "Nasionale Diensplig (1): Ons vir jou Suid-Afrika [National Service (1): We are for you, South Africa]' (1970: 8), for example, features poems about heroes of the Anglo-Boer War. See also Harrigan's remark, 'The old commando spirit of the Boers has lived on in the hearts of a new generation. South Africa is a country that has had the fortitude to say "no" to national hara-kiri. It has refused to extend tolerance to treason' (1965:95-96).

duty' (Ramsden, 2009:38). The remark by the Deputy Minister of Defence, Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok (photograph below), about the 'little piece of material' to be conscripted and positively shaped to become part of the 'team that [built] the SADF' in defending the country (Cronjé, 1985:10) is an example of an attitude whereby conscripts were regarded as 'state property', as Ramsden claims (2009:38).



Figure 12: Mr Adriaan Vlok visiting the Technical Services Training Centre at Voortrekkerhoogte (Cronjé, 1985:11).

5.2.1 Recruiting

Pieslak (2009:8, 16-44) mentions various modes of recruiting through audio-visual media and career days at secondary schools and universities. Touching on the referential aspects of music, he looks at the role of music in advertising in general and relates this to military recruiting campaigns. He also notes the main messages for military recruiting, namely the heroic, patriotic and honourable duty of military service, and the excitement related to military service (2009:22). Recruitment drives in *Commando* and *Paratus* were mostly aimed at prospective

Permanent Force members.¹⁹⁴ Yet, to make the SADF more visible, sensitization and recruitment also took place through films with army themes, radio (SABC),¹⁹⁵ printed matter (for example, novels and photo comic books), site visits (civilians visiting military institutions and *vice versa*), and public displays (for example, parades, shows and parents' days). In these various forms of media, however, where recruitment may not have been addressed directly, the themes and contents subliminally sensitised and shaped the minds of prospective recruits towards the military. Content, for example, included SADF victories (Conway, 2008:77).¹⁹⁶ The April 1986 issue of *Paratus* included texts about the involvement of the Military Academy at Saldanha with Stellenbosch University, the BMil degree and their combined participation in the Stellenbosch University Rag. Bursaries could be obtained to study through the SADF, whereby graduates had to work back the time equivalent to their study years for the SADF (Cronjé & Cohen, 1986:12-13). Recruitment (for the Permanent Force) was also driven by individuals in the organisation itself through the way they lived out their roles within the organisation (White, 1981:30), and by the use of mass media in recruiting (1981:31).¹⁹⁷

5.2.1.1 Music in recruiting

In order to change misperceptions held by musicians, and for recruitment purposes, the July 1981 issue of *Paratus* featured the sporting achievements of musicians in the SADF (Leërorkes

¹⁹⁴ See, for example, White (1981:30-31). The following articles in *Commando* and *Paratus* give a cross-section of the types of content represented in these publications: An advertisement for coloured people in the Permanent Force (Loopbaan S.A. Kleurlingkorps Staande Mag = Career S.A. Coloured Corps Permanent Force, 1966:58), 'Wees sterk, word 'n man' ['Be strong, become a man'] (1966:14), 'Free academic training' (1966:64-65), reasons for National Service (Holtzhausen, 1967:15), 'Nasionale Diensplig (1): Ons vir jou Suid-Afrika' ['National Service (1): For you South Africa'] (1970: 8-9, 70), 'Recruiting drive: PRO's to assist' (1975:29), 'Your National Service can make you "rich"! (1979:16), 'The SADF: One of the biggest employers in the RSA' (1980:33), 'Namas vrywillig na vore om hul land te verdedig' ['Namas coming forward voluntarily to defend their country'] (1981:33), 'Maak vrede met diensplig' ['Make peace with National Service'] (1984:24), Pentopoulos's (1987a:36) article, "'Men's week" at university: Enlightening future National Servicemen' and 'Rekord getal NDPs meld hulle vir diensplig aan' ['Record number reports for National Service'] (1987:38-39).

¹⁹⁵ See, for example the April 1975 issue of *Paratus*, which included an intensified recruitment drive. The issue also includes the transcript of a radio message by Major General Neil Webster ('Join now and keep our land, skies and seas inviolate', 1975:30).

¹⁹⁶ See the section on youth movements in this study (Chapter Five).

¹⁹⁷ See the Chapter Six on the media.

se manne blink uit in sport, 1981:44).¹⁹⁸ Active recruitment for the SA Army and SA Air Force Bands targeted medically fit white South African males (ages 18 to 49 years) with four years of professional music experience to play the required band instruments, with an ‘added recommendation’ of piano or stringed instruments. Part of the application also included a proficiency test. It was further stated that learner musicians aged 16 years and older with some music training were able to apply. Attractive benefits included a free uniform and equipment, generous leave (holiday and sick leave), free medical benefits and treatment, annual leave bonus, group life insurance, railway travel concessions and pension benefits (Musikante, 1969:21). In the case of the SA Cape Corps and SA Women’s College Bands, for example, musicians learnt to read music from the beginning. This suggests different criteria, or limited human resources and that musicians were to be trained from already existing human resources.¹⁹⁹ Countering the prospects and benefits of recruitment into the SADF, a poem, ‘Poor boy’ (1985:23) in the ANC’s cultural journal, *Rixaka*, focused on the topic of exploitation by the SADF.

One gets a fair indication of the physical, auditory and personal experiential environment for new conscripts when they reported for duty, as related by a number of former conscripts in Blake (2009:25-26). Together with listening to a Vietnam song via loudspeakers, Scottish pipe music and ‘langarm sokkie-sokkie’, these former conscripts also related their emotional perceptions as they entered the ‘unknown’ terrain of the Army through a ‘rite of passage’. Once they arrived, they were directed to a hall by a sergeant, and there was a change of tone with the song, ‘You’re in the army now’ (2009:26). These descriptions confirm the pattern of a ‘rite of passage’ of boys becoming men through conscription,²⁰⁰ and together with that a sense of apprehension of the unknown. A change of tone can also be perceived with the realisation of

¹⁹⁸ This comment on ‘misperceptions about musicians’ is not clarified in *Paratus* as to what these misperceptions were.

¹⁹⁹ See ‘SACC troops accomplished musicians’ (1988:49) and ‘Kollege verwerf ook roem met trompet en tamboer’ [‘College receives acclaim with trumpet and drum’] (1981:63).

²⁰⁰ See Conway’s (2008:77) reference to the militarisation of gender in cultural discourses in terms of which conscription was seen as a ‘rite of passage’ that turned ‘boys into men’. Occasional references in *Paratus* confirm this, for example, ‘Van ’n skoolseun na ’n man: Tien dae in die lewe van ’n dienspligtige’ [‘From a schoolboy to a man: Ten days in the life of a National Serviceman’] (1971:32-35). See also Williams (2008:24) and Drewett (2008b:94).

actually being in the Army. The change, in other words, is from being privileged to be part of a group (the boys), to the uncertainty of what was lying ahead, to the stark reality of conscription.

After the initial shock, new recruits in basic training were at times entertained with concert performances as seen by the example of a variety concert by 1 Constructive Regiment at Marievale ‘to bolster *esprit de corps*’, which featured female dancers from local studios (‘extremely popular with the troops’), Spanish dancing, folk and concertina music, jazz, ‘underground’ music, regimental songs by the choir and a ‘mock-ballet extravaganza’ by Corporals of the Regiment dressed as ballerinas in pink with army boots, which the troops very much enjoyed (Marievale makes new intake feel welcome with a song, 1980:8). More ‘uitbundige plesier’ [‘exuberant pleasure’] was had at a concert where soldiers performed to their peers, complete with professional make-up and stage decor (Uitbundige plesier by konsert, 1984:28). The SADF also drew on professional and well-known personalities to entertain new recruits, such as singer Joanna Field and comedian Al Debbo at the Air Force Gymnasium at Valhalla (Al en Joanna vermaak Dienspligtiges, 1982:70).²⁰¹ These examples give an indication of the type of entertainment provided to the soldiers, which included an array of musical styles and tastes. The choices of performers, which included soldiers, women (not surprisingly) and well-known personalities, also seemed to be a drawing card. Thus, the idea was fostered that well-known performers subscribed to the apartheid state’s ideals as they decided to perform for or with the SADF. Although repertoires included popular music and music of a non-military nature, the context was still that of the military, and through the enjoyment of music, bridging the gap between the military and the civilian spheres. Entertainment for soldiers is not unique to any war or geographical location. What is unique, however, is the message conveyed by the entertainment. Militarisation in this case did not only take place where civilian and military boundaries were blurred, but also where *Paratus*, read by the public, produced reportage of such events. Little is known about the responses of soldier audiences at these events, except for occasional references such as ‘uitbundige plesier’

²⁰¹ For more on bands and choirs that toured extensively to perform to soldiers and civilians in general, see the sections on bands and choirs, and performing artists in Chapters Seven and Eight.

['exuberant pleasure']. The *Paratus* reader, therefore, is not made aware of possible disruptive behaviour that soldiers are able to exhibit.

As parents parted with their sons for a period of time, the SADF informed them of their sons' wellbeing through concerts and open days. These opportunities also served to promote the image of the SADF. Examples include a barbeque and concert for parents after the completion of their sons' Military Police Training at the Provost School at Wonderboom (MPs fête parents, 1981:73) and a concert of popular songs performed by the South African Air Force Band in the Unisa auditorium to strengthen relations with parents, National Servicemen and the SADF (Good relations, 1980:50). Conveying the militarisation message through the medium of music, the aim of the concert in a civilian space was achieved as parents were impressed with the work of the SADF and the welfare of their sons, as well as the prospect of the SADF (SAAF) awakening them to 'adult responsibilities' (1980:50). This, again, is evident of the perceived role of the SADF in the 'rite of passage' of boys turning into men (as mentioned earlier), whereby they were able to take up their 'adult responsibilities'.

5.2.1.2 Music in training

Some examples provide evidence that music played a role in training and that it served as morale booster, as Morris (2017) indicates. Specific music during Morris's training years included 'Brothers in arms' by Dire Straits and military cadences from American films such as *Platoon* and *Full metal jacket* (often with adapted lyrics), for example, in the latter the phrase 'This is my rifle, this is my gun; this is for fighting, this is for fun' became part of SADF training. Singing these cadences specifically aided to boost morale during training (Morris, 2017; SADF Soldier 6, 2016). Further music included marching to military bands on parades and parents' days (SADF Soldiers 4 and 7, 2016; Thorpe, 2016) that instilled pride and assisted with marching (Thorpe, 2016). The explicit reference to instilling pride indicates the ability of music to arouse certain emotions. Linked with marching rhythms and the sound of the military band, the music provided the ideal channel to create a military ethos. Although it is often assumed that music serves as morale booster, it also has the ability to play a role in undermining the system. Van der Merwe (2017), for example, recalled situations during his basic training at Diskobolos at Kimberley where they hummed music disliked by instructors, making it difficult to gauge who the culprits were, thus angering these instructors. Singing was also accompanied

by stepping/stomping out rhythms, or by tapping rhythms on the rifle stock, beating the rhythms of war in unison. Songs were adapted to ridicule those of higher rank, while parodies were created of existing songs, adapting the words to incorporate unsavoury texts. There was chaos where soldiers (approximately 60 persons per bungalow) listened to different kinds of music (radio or sound cassettes) simultaneously during training at 61 Mech in Bloemfontein, while the fortunate ones with Walkmans were able to block out the sounds (Morris, 2017). These accounts by Morris (2017) and Van der Merwe (2017) highlight the disruptive side of soldier conduct, unlike reportage in *Paratus* which seems to picture a more polished version of the soldier.

5.2.2 The soldier

Evidence of the war effort involving civilians can be found in the Defence White Paper of 1977, which aimed to include the broader society in state security initiatives (Cawthra, 1986:30). As mentioned in Chapter Four, the emphasis on the psychological aspect was linked to influencing South Africans towards supporting the war effort by various means such as the ‘winning hearts and minds’ (WHAM) campaigns (Cawthra, 1986:41),²⁰² participation in youth movements, broadcasting, soldier support initiatives and a prominent presence of the military and soldiers (Conway, 2008:77). Society could further buy into the concept of ‘the border’ through visits by the media, celebrities, members of Parliament (Baines, 2008:9-10) and civilians.²⁰³ This is a barometer of the extent to which the military ideals permeated society through activities related to the military sphere.

The supporting role of women towards the military was reflected in the comment by South African actress Monica Breed that both segments of society (soldiers and women) depended on each other for their safety (Conway, 2008:79; Conscription: SABC personalities speak out, 1980:47). One concerted support and morale-boosting effort took place through the Southern Cross Fund (SCF) with their over 15 000 affiliates and more than 250 branches, who supported

²⁰² See De Visser (2011:85-100) for more on the topic of Winning Hearts and Minds during the Border War.

²⁰³ *Paratus* features several articles regarding border visits from civilians, which are referred to on occasions in this study.

the border troops (Conway, 2008:79). Gift packs containing the inscription, ‘The Southern Cross Fund thanks our men at the border’ were passed on, funds were raised for recreational facilities, and free civilian transport to their homes or bases was arranged for them under the slogans: ‘They are our security’ and ‘They keep us safe in our homes. Let’s give them a safe ride to theirs’ (Conway, 2008:79-80). Civilians of varying ages were also encouraged to write letters to soldiers and to send parcels to the Southern Cross Fund. Ramsden (2009:75) confirms this as a soldier and recipient of these *Dankie Tannie* parcels from the SCF,²⁰⁴ containing a writing pad, envelopes, a pen, pocket knife, laminated card with The Soldier’s Code of Honour and a letter of good wishes for their border duty from the State President’s wife. The ‘personal’ letter from the State President’s wife thus evoked the idea of individual attention to soldiers for their contribution. The fact that it came from a wife also reinforced a collective sense of appreciation from the supporters at home who felt protected. Cameron Blake (2009:173) also mentions letters written by small girls who thanked the brave soldiers for saving the country.²⁰⁵ This shows civilian society across all age groups was drawn in to support the war.

Attempts to construct an image of the typical soldier emerged in various media, which included literature, music, art, films, stories, comics and books. The genre of Border War literature (*Grensliteratuur*) was produced by white male Afrikaner intellectuals (Roos, 2008:138). Baines (2008:11) regards the protagonists in this genre often as being ‘misfits, outcasts’ and ‘anti-heroes’.²⁰⁶ Soldiers were also revered as ‘troopies’ or ‘Our Boys’, yet with the typical image of the soldier as the masculine, brave *grensvegter* (border warrior), ‘a Rambo-type figure’, symbolising heroic ‘combat’.²⁰⁷ This image was also personified by an Afrikaans picture book male hero, *Grensvegter*, and further portrayed in films such as *Boetie gaan border toe* (Conway, 2008:78). In 1987 ‘Up Front Promotions’ launched the ‘Troopie’ brand based on a comic strip character, who also featured on t-shirts and as a soft toy (Falkow, 1987:28).

²⁰⁴ See also Nieuwoudt (2013).

²⁰⁵ See also Cloete (2009:26) regarding these letters.

²⁰⁶ Border war literature in Afrikaans and English included Etienne van Heerden’s *My Kubaan*, Damon Galgut’s *The Clay Ox* and Mark Behr’s *The Smell of Apples*, to name but a few. See Roos (2008:137-157) for more information on this.

²⁰⁷ See also Bourke’s ‘anatomy of a hero’ (1999:103-138).



Figure 13: Troopie: Die eerste pas (Stoltz & Roos, 1987:21).

Judging by the advertisement below, the ‘Troopie’ products were to be sold at public events with the proceeds of these products applied towards supporting the SADF and the ‘ordinary citizen’ (Troopie is going to make you a winner, 1987:53),²⁰⁸ suggesting a mutually beneficial relationship whereby the funds benefited the troops who defended the country for the benefit of the civilians. Appearing as a ‘cute’ soft toy, it is clear that this cartoon character would have

²⁰⁸ See, for example, Van Wyk (1988a:12) about the sales of products under the ‘Troopie’ brand.

appealed to many people, especially children and girls. The silly comic strip character (containing the phrase, 'I'm a winner') in itself portrayed a soldier who mostly got the short end of military life (as can be seen on the comic strip further above).

TROOPIE

PRODUCTS

up FRONT PROMOTIONS AND DISTRIBUTORS Tel. 783-3772/783-8260 P.O. BOX 52693 SAXONWOLD 2137

TOP SECRET Troopie is going to make You a Winner

With the permission of the Army Foundation we have made available to the public, the Defense Force and people from all walks of life, a fun aspect of products and promotions to make life just a little easier. For the honour of marketing this range of products and promoting anything to do with the "Troopie" R a percent of all sales will be put back into the benefit of the defence force and the ordinary citizen. Recreation facilities, insurance and security to those people at home are just part of what that percent will do. For top quality products at good prices you are helping everybody put the smile back on Troopie.

Come and see the Full Range of Products and Promotions at the Rand Show 1987, (Hall 6, Stand 9 and 10) Ideal Agents and Distributors that want to help in a Great Cause. Contact us for a Winners Smile

J. S. (Koos) Bradley
SA Army Headquarters/Impala House
Cnr Schoeman/Prinsloo St., ☎ (012) 26-1342

**ER IS 'N WENNER!
I AM A WINNER!**

PARATUS • MAART 1987 53

Figure 14: 'Troopie is going to make you a winner' (1987:53).

While records and radio programmes were compiled for the troops and civilians alike, specific songs were composed to commemorate, support and encourage troops. Active attempts in *Paratus* included a soldiers' song competition from April to September 1980, with the outcome of music set to a march (Ons soldateliedkompetisie is gewen deur 'n Kapenaar, 1981:23;

Paratus se groot sangkompetisie, 1980:24).²⁰⁹ An interest in the competition, mostly from women (Pragtige belangstelling in ons soldateliedkompetisie, 1980:29), produced the lyrics of the winner, Mrs S. Johnson from Rondebosch in the Cape, with her song, ‘Together’ (Ons soldateliedkompetisie is gewen deur ’n Kapenaar, 1981:23), the text of which was adapted before it was set to music (Woorde van Soldatelied aangepas, 1982:40). The song is about soldiers of different physiques (‘thin, fat, short and the tall’) defending the country in unity (1982:40). Supporting morale also included certain benefits for soldiers, such as the ‘Sleep Safe’ and ‘Ride Safe’ schemes, which provided accommodation and enabled national servicemen to travel for free.²¹⁰ The ‘Ride Safe’ song by country music singer Matt Hurter addresses various aspects of conscription and the soldier’s environment. This song was recorded both in English and Afrikaans, with some variation in text between the two language versions.²¹¹ The mood of the song oscillates between the sympathetic and the proud, initially employing phrases that evoke feelings of sympathy for the ‘boy in the uniform trying to get home’ (the idea of a lone soldier) standing on the side of the road. This combines with a description of visual characteristics (short hair), as well as personality, and when you speak to him, you hear that he is ‘quite a man’, yet also kind as he tells about all his Army experiences (the song uses familiar Army terms and imagery). The song also suggests that the soldier is a friend (defender) of civilians, urging them to do their duty in giving him a ride. The song draws attention to the collective (‘In camp he’s just a number’), but the individual brings a more personal element into the song. In the music, female backing vocalists are heard at ‘Make a friend, make an effort’, ‘Now, he’s not ashamed to tell you he gets a little lonely now and then’ and ‘As you drive along he’ll explain to you exactly where he stays’. This could indicate the subliminal message that both civilian men and women support the troops and thereby the war. The bass line at the mention of 40 days is reminiscent of the Cliff Richard song with the same

²⁰⁹ See subsequent entries for the *Paratus* soldier song competition in ‘*Paratus* se soldateliedkompetisie’ (1980a:8; 1980b:22) and ‘*Paratus* soldiers’ song competition’ (1980a:8; 1980b:8; 1980c:8).

²¹⁰ See, for example, ‘Sleep Safe’ scheme gives our NSMs the nod (1980:50), ‘Sleep Safe’ scheme takes step forward (1981:66), Ride Safe a pleasure in Natal (1979:20), Ride Safe at WP CMD (1980:54-55), Veilig huis toe! (1980:55), Call and Ride Safe scheme celebrates 2nd anniversary (1981:55) and a Christmas cartoon depicting the Ride Safe campaign (Ry veilig = Ride safe, 1983:96).

²¹¹ See Hurter (2014, 2015) in the Discography for audio recordings of the English and Afrikaans versions of this song, as well as Frederikse (1986:68) for its translation.

title. Interestingly, an external party (thus not the proud soldier) urges motorists, through the song ('even if [...] never a hit'), to give the soldier a ride. The 'Ride Safe' message is reinforced in the last part and last occurrence of the refrain.



Figure 15: 'Ride Safe' sign, Alexandra Rd, King William's Town (De Jongh, 2011).

Through visits to military institutions, civilians from various walks of life were given exposure to the soldier's environment. Female students from Potchefstroom and Pretoria Universities, together with Mrs Ristie Viljoen (wife of the Head of the SADF), visited the border. At one point the girls started singing a song to the melody of 'Die wandellied' whilst travelling by bus to Oshakati (Tannie Ristie kom haar belofte na, 1981:86):

As ek moeg word vir die lewe in die States²¹²

Pak ek my klere in

²¹² South African conscripts adopted the term, 'States' for South Africa, which was a term used during the Vietnam War. Typical expressions and mannerisms included the following: South West Africa/Namibia as Nam (echoing a term for Vietnam), an army base in South West Africa called Hotel California and imitation of film characters such as John Wayne in *The Green Berets* and Robert de Niro in *The Deer Hunter* (Batley, 2007:17). See also Vale (2008:35).

In die veld loop ek 'n troepie raak

En begin vir hom ook ogies maak

En sing my liefdeslied²¹³

The song suggests an ideal of dating or marrying a soldier and of leaving the comforts of life in the 'States' behind in exchange for a life with (or mostly without, because of long absences) a soldier. The glorification of the soldier further manifested in a song, 'Die Grensman', composed by John Pauw (Die Grensman gryp gehoor aan hart, 1986:2). This song aligns itself with government rhetoric as it addresses the 'communist threat' to South Africa and in this refers to the apartheid ideology of separate development, where all residents of the country were envisioned as building a new future together yet keeping their identity. The proud defenders of 'Western democracy' on the southern tip of Africa (1986:2) were earning their respect through their sacrifice as they were protecting those at home (families, wives, mothers, girlfriends and sisters). *Soldate-seun (Soldier son)*. A 7-inch single released in 1977, was sold by ladies from the Army Ladies Association to obtain funding for the soldiers on the border and to convey a 'spirit of positivity and preparedness' to society (Soldate-seun, 1977:iii).²¹⁴ The sketch on the sleeve of the single depicts a soldier sitting in the bush, against a tree, holding a rifle and a letter against a backdrop of the colours of the former South African flag. The title, *Soldier son*, brings to mind an image not only of the fighting soldier, but also of a son, suggestive of both a family member and a son of South Africa (backdrop of the South African flag colours) fighting a war in a far away land (hence the letter). The image of the flag-coloured backdrop further brings to mind the purported reason for the war: i.e. defending South Africa against an enemy. 'Baie ken dié soldate-seun' ['Many know this soldier son'] enhances the imagery of the individual, who is representative of the collective. The content is sung in Western art song style made popular by composer S. le Roux Marais, with military style

²¹³ Translation by author: 'When I get tired of life in the States ['States' was a nickname for South Africa] / I pack my clothes / In the veld I encounter a troopie / And start making eyes at him / And sing my love song.'

²¹⁴ See Solms (2015) in the Discography for an audio recording of *Soldate-seun*.

accompaniment. The military style accompaniment may be a reminder of those on the border protecting ‘Western civilization’ – the latter embodied by the Western art song style.



Figure 16: Soldier son (1977:iii).

The recording, *Dankie Soldaat!* [‘Thank you Soldier!’], produced by Anna Rudolph, who rendered the performances of the songs with ‘conviction and love’ [‘oorgawe en liefde’], performed the music in various styles which included *Reggae* and *Boeremusiek*.²¹⁵ Although the main focus was the soldier, the recording was also aimed at those at home who had family members in the SADF as the music could be performed and remembered by adults and children alike (Botes, 1989:34). Recognising that the music was to be performed and remembered by

²¹⁵ Songs included titles of ‘Totsiens soldaat’ [‘Goodbye soldier’], ‘My seun’ [‘My son’], ‘Ek en my kitaar’ [‘Me and my guitar’], ‘’n Brief van jou’ [‘A letter from you’] and ‘Die pad na jou tuiste’ [‘The road home’].

adults and children (1989:34) is an indication of the power of music as vehicle to convey certain messages, and in this respect the message of the image of the soldier as individual and as a representation of the SADF in the broader sense.



Figure 17: Dankie, Soldaat! (Botes, 1989:34).

Recognition of the role of music in sustaining wartime morale was expressed by Major Johan Smit of the Air Force, who issued a recording, *Vasbyt vir ons land* ['Endure for the sake of our country'], honouring those who defended the borders (Furter, 1988:35). The song addressed the topic of endurance in the fight for maintaining freedom (from the perceived communist threat) and thus served as medium to convey apartheid ideology. Another recording from SADF quarters was that by Seaman Wilhelm Liebenberg, who released a solo single, 'Troopie' (Seaman's courage has sent his success spinning, 1982:69). Although created in military environments, it is inevitable that the message contained in these recordings would have reached the public, creating an awareness of the military through music.

On a lighter note, singer Buddy Vaughn collaborated with the SADF to release a 'comedy album', *Troepie Tunes*, in 1985 to raise money for the SADF Entertainment Fund to enable National Servicemen to experience more live entertainment as well as expose them to South

African artists. The record was to be made available through various music retail outlets at a total cost of R8 000 at the time.²¹⁶ As a barometer of the popularity of the record, an entirely Afrikaans version was to be recorded. The track, 'Lend a helping hand', was performed by 'top South African musicians' (Troepie Tunes to boost Entertainment Fund, 1985:65). The input of 'top South African musicians' for the publicity indicated that these musicians supported the border war. The sleeve image depicts two conscripts: a new and a seasoned one, suggesting that the new conscript is still unaware of what awaits him.

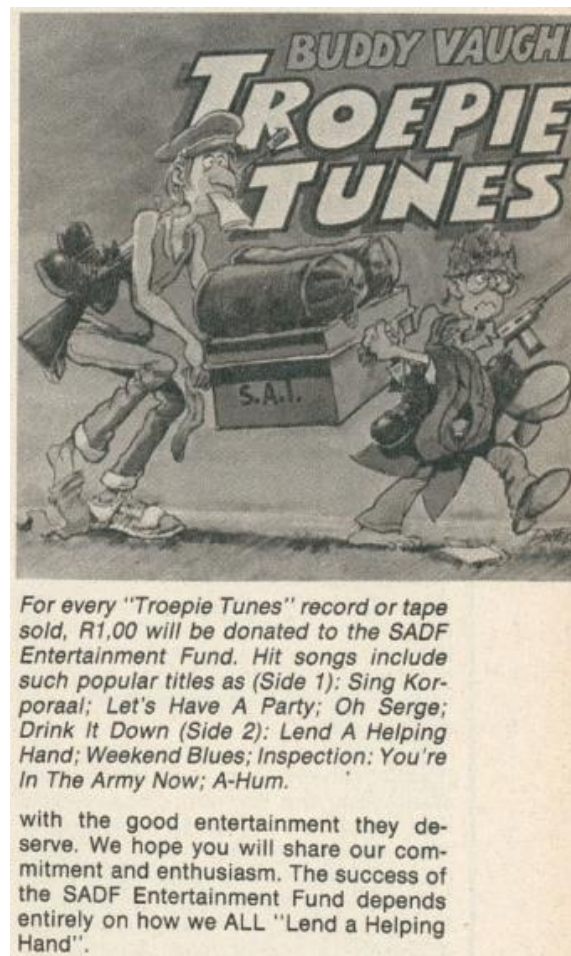


Figure 18: Troepie Tunes to boost Entertainment Fund (1985:65).

²¹⁶ In current terms, R 8 000.00 would be worth approximately R 106 300.00.

5.2.3 South African Army Women's College (SAAWC)

The South African Army Women's College (SAAWC) at George (Cape Province), initially known as the Citizen Force College, was established on 1 February 1971 (SA Leërvrouekollege: *Vir die room van ons land bedoel*, 1979:12) and officially opened on 10 April 1971 (Prime Minister Botha: 'Stand up and be counted, 1981:57) to train voluntary white women recruits in a one-year course, with the option of entering the Permanent Force, Citizen Force or Commandos (Cawthra, 1986:65). The year was subdivided into three phases, whereby entrants were transferred to a different military unit in need of specialist services (SA Leërvrouekollege: *Vir die room van ons land bedoel*, 1979:12-13).²¹⁷ After basic training of twelve weeks, a further ten-week period of specialised training followed (George girls yearning to serve the country, 1980:54).²¹⁸ The training equipped these recruits not to be combat soldiers, but to be prepared for threats against her country, for leadership, various emergency aspects, and to take a leadership role in times of emergencies, as well as to be able to fill a positive role as a woman in service of her country. Titles of articles such as 'die room van ons land' ['the cream of our country'] and 'girls yearning to serve' create the impression that many women wanted to serve, but because of the high standards, many could not make it, as these positions were reserved only for a select few. Prerequisites for recruitment included being a bilingual, unmarried female South African citizen, not older than 22 years, with a matric certificate or teaching qualification, and being medically fit (SA Leërvrouekollege: *Vir die room van ons land bedoel*, 1979:12-13). Upon completion of the course, graduates were also required to attend camps for 30 days per year during a period of nine years. Those who continued with studies were required to fit in the camps over weekends and during holidays, while those who married could, depending on their home conditions, apply for exemption from duty (Buisende

²¹⁷ See, for example, Jooste's (1989b:45) article on students of the SAAWC who went on to be employed in the Internal Audit Division.

²¹⁸ For more about the training, see also 'Adieu! Excited volunteers head for George' (1983:66) and Roodt (1985c:34-36). Roodt (1985b:40-42; 1985c:34-36) provides detailed information about the training, sports and leisure activities.

geesdrif by die SALV Kol, 1981:71). In 1988 applications amounted to more than 900 (Fried, 1988d:51), which indicated the popularity of the institution for prospective candidates.

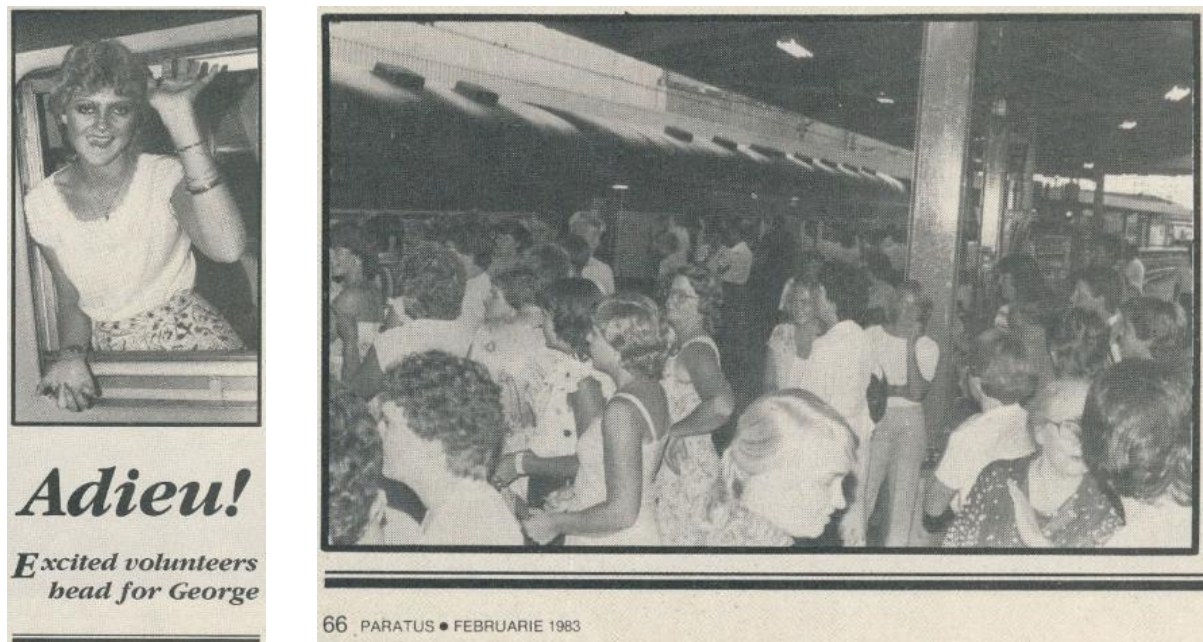


Figure 19: Adieu! Excited volunteers head for George (1983:66).

The College was equipped with a library, which also contained sound recordings. It further provided outdoor and sports activities, choir singing, folk dances (volkspele),²¹⁹ debating, film shows and concerts. Access to sound recordings and participation in music thus indicate the role of music as leisure activity. There was also a College Chaplain and the women had the opportunity to attend their respective church services on Sundays (SA Leërvrouekollege: Vir die room van ons land bedoel, 1979:12-13).²²⁰

Reportage in *Paratus* regularly emphasized the feminine aspects of the women as can be seen by descriptions and photographs of women applying makeup.²²¹ Noticeable in the captions on

²¹⁹ Both Jooste (1989c:17) and Furter (1989c:34) mention the participation of the SAAWC in folk dances at the 77th anniversary parade for the SADF and at a Military Tattoo for the Cape Show where they 'provided elegance' to the show.

²²⁰ See also Roodt (1985c:34-36).

²²¹ See, for example, Roodt (1985b:41; 1985c:35).

the photograph below, is the binary of the male and female worlds: rifle – makeup, soldier – woman, and military precision – frilly underwear, which can be an indication of the perception of the woman in a ‘man’s world’.

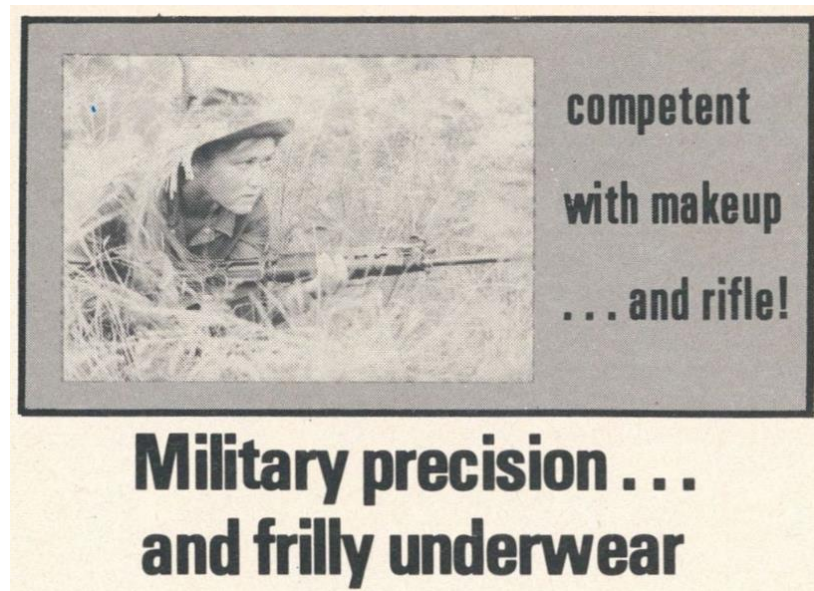


Figure 20: ‘Soldier indeed ... but still woman’ (Greeff, 1977:6).

A more extreme case is to be found in the comic strip, *Doppina*, by Len Lindeque (1976:32), captioned, ‘Introducing the SADF’s lovable public hazard’, depicting ‘Doppina’ (the female version of the comic strip character, ‘Doppie’), sitting on an ammunition chest, with cigarettes in the pocket of her jacket and hair growth on her chin, applying ‘lipstick’. The reference to a ‘lovable public hazard’, suggests women [South African Army Women’s College recruits] being a hazard to the SADF. Images such as these also contributed to certain gender stereotypes as determined by a patriarchal society.²²²

²²² Certain gender stereotypes were thus suggested to the reader, which included the objectification of women, as they were at times photographed in scant clothing. See the October and November 1968 issues of *Commando* depicting photographs of women posing with a turkey and pineapples, accompanied by captions such as ‘[...] Well, no matter, whether its turkey, pineapples or survival, you must agree that Kathy Francis has everything worth while surviving for. [...]’ (McGoldrick, 1968:iii). Contrasting the undesirable Army wife as enemy of the desirable (‘good’) Army wife, Kruys (1971:72-73) summarised the characteristics of the ‘good’ army wife as

interesting to note, for this event, the explicit reference to the ‘diet’ and ‘hand-embroidered colours’ as part of assumed ideas of femininity, but that no specific mention of music was made.



Figure 22: Unit Colours depicting the ‘Seruria Florida’ (‘Blushing Bride’) with Proteas, inscribed, ‘Este Parati’ (‘Be prepared’) (Blom, 1987c:35, 37).



Figure 23: SAAWC Choir awaiting the President (Blom, 1987c:36).²²³

²²³ The March 1983 issue of *Paratus* noted the SAAWC Choir under the direction of Lieutenant Mimi Bothma. Mention was also made of a sound recording of South African Army marches, performances at the Groote Kerk in Cape Town and the Cape Town Festival (‘Ek hou van uitdagings’, 1983:68).

The essence of what they stood for was also captured in their College song, as illustrated by the following excerpt in Roodt (1985b:42):

Dierbaar kollege waar ons saamwoon

Een van strewe hart en sin

Tot beskerming van ons burgers

sal ons sterk wees en oorwin.²²⁴

The familiar rhetoric of victory and the protection of citizens thus featured in this song, as well as in a speech by P.W. Botha during the 10th anniversary celebration on 10 April 1981 in the presence of various guests of note, parents, families and friends. The speech further included the topic of communism as usual, with the state's propaganda messages. The Unit's own military band, together with the SA Army Band, leading the students onto the parade ground 'with strict military precision' (Prime Minister Botha: 'Stand up and be counted, 1981:57). The reference to 'strict military precision', is indicative of the role of marching music to synchronize the paces and provide momentum for the unit. This celebration is an ideal example of militarisation with its combination of military bands in uniform, civilian audiences, guests of note and the Prime Minister delivering a speech on communism.

[Photograph on next page]

²²⁴ Translation by current author: 'Dear college where we live together / one of striving heart and aim / To protecting our citizens / we'll be strong and conquer'.

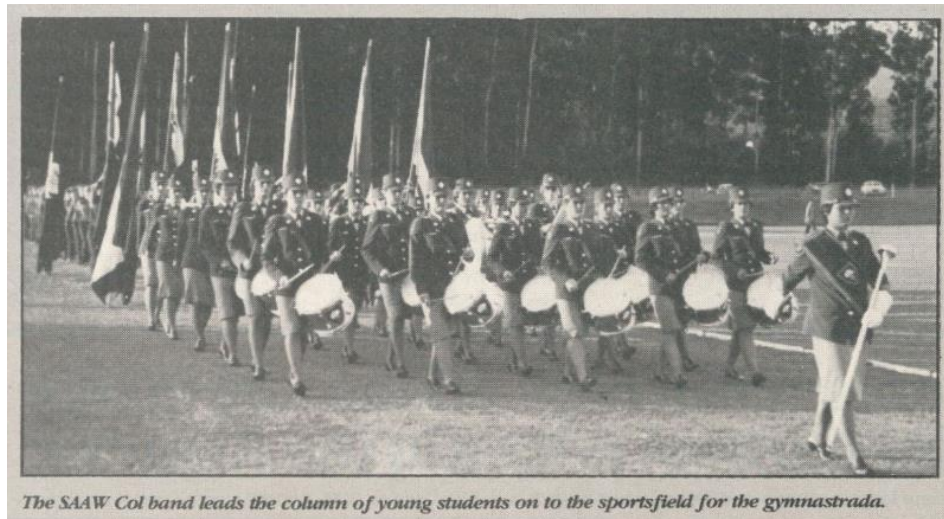


Figure 24: The SAAWC Band (SAAW Col women: Their example an inspiration to all SA women, 1982:70).

The 1988 open day and passing-out parade included a campfire concert. *Paratus* also included a photograph of members of the SAAWC Band, which had been ‘put together in less than twelve weeks’ (Janssen, 1988:17), suggesting a certain priority for music, namely its presence at occasions, no matter how rushed the preparations.

5.2.3.2 Tours, visits and border visits

These SAAWC recruits also had their fair share of touring the country. In 1972 it was documented that the ‘soldoedies’ (still as the Citizen Force College) toured the country to various SADF units (BBK op toer, 1972:40-41),²²⁵ followed by a tour to the border in 1973 (Gericke, 1973:12). The 1972 tour included a march through the streets of Johannesburg during an Army day event, gymnastics show and a *Revue Aquarius* performance in the Voortrekkerhoogte City Hall (BBK op toer, 1972:40-41). Accounts of the border concert performance in 1973 highlights the women’s performance on a make-shift stage with sheets as curtains, attached to a wire. Nonetheless, this was compared to the Aula Hall in Pretoria. The visitors’ experience further included sincere country hospitality (‘boeregasvryheid’) offered

²²⁵ ‘Soldoedies’ is the nickname for recruits of the SAAWC.

with love, not to be forgotten (Gericke, 1973:iv). ‘Boeregasvryheid’ as a term has certain connotations, mostly associated with older more traditional Afrikaans culture to indicate a true kind of hospitality. The description of the set-up for the border performance itself gives an idea of the basic facilities they had at their disposal. Visits to the border were often described positively in terms of hospitality, facilities and the food. In this particular instance, the reference to the Aula in Pretoria gives a particularly elevated value to the real circumstances, suggesting that this is a norm for ideal circumstances. During a visit to Prime Minister P.W. Botha’s holiday residence ‘Die Anker’ in Wilderness near George, where a number of SAAWC students serenaded him on his 65th birthday, Mrs Botha, impressed by them, tossed roses from the balcony (Studente verras Eerste Minister met serenade, 1981:59). Tossing flowers onto a stage hails from earlier times at aristocratic courts as a token of appreciation for outstanding performances. The example of Mrs Botha tossing flowers from the balcony borders on the theatrical, emulating an act mostly reserved for ballet, opera or concert performances. ‘Die Anker’ now set the stage: the ladies from the SAAWC were the outstanding performers, and the Botha couple the appreciative aristocratic audience.

5.2.3.3 South African Army Women’s College (SAAWC) Band

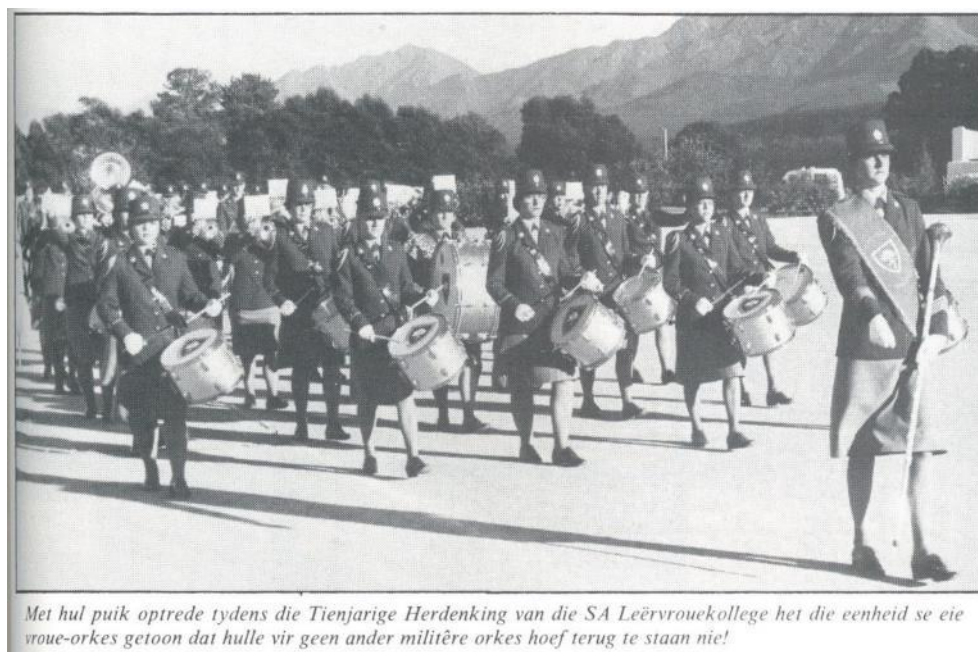


Figure 25: SAAWC Band at their Ten Years Anniversary celebration (Kollege verwerf ook roem met trompet en tamboer, 1981:63).

The SAAWC Band was the first women's Army band in South Africa, founded on the initiative of Colonel L.J. Holtzhausen. In 1981 the Band, consisting of trumpets and drums, totalled some 25 members, some of whom learned to play their instruments from scratch, similar to the boys in the cadet bands, as mentioned earlier.²²⁶ The band was initially under the direction of Major B.H. Wijburg (Pretoria HQ), Corporal K. Terry (Command Northern Transvaal) and Corporal A. Kriel (Command Southern Cape), followed by Captain M.E. van Schalkwyk. Practice sessions were held before and after work hours. On 7 February 1981 (after P.W. Botha's 65th birthday and prior to the 10th anniversary on 10 April 1981, as mentioned above) the Band performed its first performance at the P.W. Botha residence in Wilderness, where the national flag was hoisted on a flag stand donated to him by the College.



Figure 26: The SAAWC Band (Roodt, 1985b:42).

There are certain similarities, as can be seen from the examples of the SAAWC that are com

Similarities between the SAAWC and their counterparts (male conscripts) are to be found in the activities at military ceremonies and events (for example, retreat and flag hoisting ceremonies, drilling and parades). Differences, however, include the fact that SAAWC recruits

²²⁶ In 1985 the Band totalled 34 members (Roodt, 1985b:41).

were trained in non-combat and supporting roles, and with a greater emphasis on the feminine aspects of these recruits, they served as a model for women in civil society. Reportage in *Paratus*, especially noting music performances by the SAAWC recruits, indicates the role of music to convey this image of the (white) woman in the broader South African society.

5.2.4 Conscientious objection

Various movements, institutions and individuals contested and challenged conscription. These included the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) established in 1983 (Cawthra 1986:75),²²⁷ the South African Council of Churches (SACC); the Black Sash;²²⁸ and the Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR).²²⁹ Further initiatives included the cultural association, Medu Art Ensemble expressing their opposition to apartheid through art,²³⁰ and Shifty Records, co-founded by Lloyd Ross, who recorded resistance music. ‘Shifty’ is derived from the recording company initially operating from a caravan that allowed them to move quickly to avoid state harassment (Drewett, 2007). As conscientious objectors increasingly faced legal action from 1970 onwards, individuals evaded conscription by means of emigration or duty postponement, or simply by not providing an address (Conway, 2008:81). Resistance to the

²²⁷ The ECC actively opposed the Border War by showing the negative impact of the war on soldiers (for example, post-traumatic stress disorder – PTSD, suicide rates, violent behaviour and occurrences of family murders) (Conway, 2008:83-84). Forums and media included campuses, the press and women’s magazines (such as *Cosmopolitan* and *Fair Lady*), posters and leaflets (2008:82, 85, 88, 89), which advertised messages of conscripts being restrained, miserable and distressed at circumstances on the border (2008:84-85, 88). Campaigns also focused on mothers’ perspectives and family bonds (2008:87-88). In 1985 a ‘Peace Festival’ was held to build up for support the ‘Cancel the Call-up’ campaign (Cawthra, 1986:76). See also Jones (2013) and Phillips (2002).

²²⁸ See Black Sash (2017).

²²⁹ COSAWR was established in exile in London in 1978 (Cawthra, 1989:74, Williams, 2008:49). *Paratus* featured articles on Russia’s use of COSAWR for propaganda purposes and on conscientious objection. These included ‘The harsh reality of draft dodging’ (1982:34-35), ‘COSAWR: A puppet of the true enemies of all the peoples of the RSA (1982:35), Conscientious Objection as a universal phenomenon (Verset teen Diensplig, 1983:22-23, 94), ‘Moker die ontduikers’ [‘Punch the draft dodgers’] by Willem de Klerk (political commentator) in the *Rapport* newspaper of 30 January 1983, and ‘Wat gemaak met ontduikers van Diensplig’ [‘What to do with draft dodgers’] (1983:61.).

²³⁰ See, for example, Wylie (2008) and Kellner & González (2009).

war was demonstrated either by active campaigning (End Conscription Campaign - ECC), conscientious objection or by (self-proclaimed) exile.²³¹

A number of articles in *Paratus* addressed the issue of conscientious objection or draft dodging. It also highlighted negative issues about the ECC,²³² objection based on religious grounds,²³³ and the dangerous consequences of conscientious objection. While some churches and their leaders (Dr Alan Boesak and Desmond Tutu) actively opposed the war (The Anglican Church in South Africa, 1967:11-13),²³⁴ others participated in a more pacifist role.²³⁵ Yet others, such as the Dutch Reformed Church, actively supported and lauded the war effort.²³⁶

5.3 Summary

In the context of the Cold War and the associated perceived communist threat, South African society needed to be convinced to participate in the war. To make the public aware of the threat of communism the government used various tools and opportunities such as the media and public events. Protection was needed in the form of the SADF. The SADF as a collective was also represented in the individual soldier, whose popular image was constructed to sway South

²³¹ See Nathan (1989:308-323) and Phillips (2002) for ECC-related information and Winkler and Nathan (1989:324-337) for religious resistance.

²³² Anti-ECC messages, for example, featured at military and public occasions. See 'Grootste revueparade nog op Bethlehem' (1986:19).

²³³ The South African state used religion to justify apartheid (Die Christen in uniform: Ons Weermag is die handhawer en beskermmer van vrede, 1975:27; The Chaplain General's views, 1980:37). See also 'Godsdienstige oortuiging of selfsugtige politieke motief' ['Religious conviction or selfish political motive'] (1983:13, 28), 'Medewerker' ['Collaborator'] (1983:11), 'Godsdiensbeswaardes: Antwoorde op vrae' ['Religious objectors: Answers on questions'] (1985:2, 11), 'Gewetensbesware: Verdere ontwikkelings' ['Conscientious Objection: Further developments'] (1983:11), Prinsloo (1983:24-25) and 'Secretary, Board for Religious Objection' (1989:65).

²³⁴ See, for example, 'Interview: The apartheid state and the churches' (1989:20-22), titles such as 'Christianity and revolution: A battle fought on many fronts' (Mayson, 1987:12-15) in *Sechaba* and 'Speak the truth from the pulpit' (1986:10) in *Mayibuye*.

²³⁵ Churches that took a pacifist stand, included the Methodist Church of South Africa, Presbyterian Church of South Africa, the Society of Friends (Quakers), United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Church of the Province of South Africa, and the Baptist Union of South Africa (Witskrif oor Verdediging en Krygstuigvoorsiening: Geldenhuys-Komitee se verslag, 1986:66). See also 'Medewerker' (1983:11), 'Secretary, Board for Religious Objection' (1989:65), Blake (2009:9, 270-271) and Cawthra (1986:73-76).

²³⁶ See, for example, '17 Gun salute for Mr Basie van Rensburg' (1970:26-29), Aarons (1984:34-35) and Roodt (1986c:26-31).

Africans towards accepting government policy. This construct revolved mostly around the male form, and marginally recognizing women on the peripheries and of lesser value and only in supporting roles. Although conscription took place along racial lines (with black conscripts that later served in the homeland armies as part of the apartheid government's counterinsurgency strategy), it is interesting to note that the image of the male soldier was mostly portrayed as white, masculine, brave and heroic through various media such as films (for example, *Boetie gaan border toe*), comics (for example, *Grensvegter*) and radio request programmes. Conscription for males was also regarded as an important transition to adulthood where boys became men. Recruits from the SAAWC at George were trained in non-combat roles with reportage in *Paratus* regularly featuring on their feminine qualities as representative of (white) women at large. There were therefore specific ideas with regards to the appropriate behaviour for men and women, and each had to fulfil those roles, suggesting that active combat was reserved for men.

The media, youth movements and the cadet movement were instrumental in sensitising the youth from an early age, while (white) South African civilians participated in activities such as the *Ride Safe* initiative and the Southern Cross Fund. Although the South African population at large was made part of the war (directly or indirectly), the soldier took centre stage. Musically, soldiers were honoured through songs such as 'Die Grensman' by John Pauw and recordings such as *Soldate-seun* and the soldiers' song competition in *Paratus*.

Apart from a number of concerts held for new recruits and an advertisement for the position of military musician, little is reported in *Paratus* with regards to music in the recruiting process and during training. Information gleaned mostly from personal accounts (books and interviews) indicate that music was present during intake and training. These accounts also clash with *Paratus*'s construct of an unspoiled image of the soldier. This is verified by Van der Merwe's (2017) training experience at Diskobolos (Kimberley) where conscripts angered army instructors by humming music disliked by them, or adapted texts to mock them, or where they incorporated crude texts into songs. Interviews with a number of former SADF conscripts also shed light on their private music consumption, which contributed in boosting their morale. Contrasting with the official music environment, these personal tastes seemed to resonate with the Vietnam War film culture.

6 The Media

The media had the potential to convey the image of the SADF in a number of ways, ensuring that the SADF would become an integral part of the nation's psyche. These included news broadcasts, reports and facts about the SADF,²³⁷ advertisements (careers in the SADF) and popular films to draw the interest of the public and to avoid 'misinformation' about the SADF (Odendaal, 1970:15, 29).²³⁸ Propaganda via the radio as medium specifically held the possibility to reach audiences nationwide at an affordable cost (SAW en die oorlog van woorde, 1983:12-13). The SADF involvement in the media was therefore a way to get a foothold and, in this way, to exert control over the content being published. Taking Odendaal's reference to 'misinformation' into account, and with reference to Lasswell's roles in the communication process (1948:42), it is expected that various media were subjected to these editorial processes to project a positive image of the apartheid government and the SADF. An agreement seeking co-operation between the Newspaper Press Union (representative of all major newspapers), Armscor and the Ministry of Defence in 1988 (Agreement with NPU signed, 1988:43) was a further step in the direction of controlling the media in its attempt to militarise society. In 1976 the SADF, most frequently featured in the news, received the Newsmakers of the Year award, awarded by the South African Association of Journalists, (Toekenning aan SAW, 1976:9).²³⁹ This consistent regularity of media coverage may also be indicative of the way society was bombarded with news about the military and so establishing a strong military 'presence' in the

²³⁷ These would have been selected facts due to censorship.

²³⁸ A two-page feature on misinformation about the SADF, accompanied by a map of radio stations that broadcast anti-South African propaganda, was published in the January 1983 issue of *Paratus* (SAW en die oorlog van woorde, 1983:12-13). See also Smith (1974:4-5) in this regard. The ANC publication *Mayibuye*, for example, also published features on misinformation about the liberation movements. See in this regard 'Fighting talk: Psychological warfare' (1968:13-15) and Wandt (1968:12-14), who alleged that the South African government misinformed the public about the capture of a Russian spy, of bad living circumstances in Zimbabwe, or by writing counterfeit letters from the ANC representative in Zimbabwe addressed to South African chiefs to obtain information from them regarding the movements of freedom fighters.

²³⁹ An earlier remark by Smith (1974:4-5) indicated the high frequency of reportage about the SADF via any of the media, which included 258 reports in November 1973.

minds of people. Broadcasts of military bands on SABC programmes also assisted to create an awareness of the military (see section 6.1 in this study).²⁴⁰



Figure 27: The news media and the SADF (Smith, 1974:4).

Exposure to media personalities visiting SADF institutions and events were also mentioned in *Paratus*, as found during the SA Air Force's 60th anniversary celebrations (Die pers het gehou van wat hulle gesien het, 1980:13) and by women reporters from various publications as well

²⁴⁰ The first official SABC Television appearance of the SADF took place in 1975 at the Rand Show, where action shots of soldiers and a helicopter were screened (Dunn, 1975:25-26). The June 1977 issue of *Paratus* reported a film by Bill Faure on the border to be screened on television after the news on SABC (TV film on border situation, 1977:4). Specific units within the SADF also featured in films, including the Citizen Force (Pienaar, 1970:31) and the South African Medical Service (*Medicine in Uniform*) (SAMS film premiere, 1981:33). The SADF further presented video recordings, titled *Revue*, aimed at National Servicemen, which featured well-known personalities. The contents of the programmes featured leisure activities as well as content related to the SADF (Van de Venter, 1987c:25). The SADF also received recognition at the International Military Film and Photographic Festival in Paris for photographs by Herman Potgieter. The entry for the festival also included a film about the SA Navy (SA Weermag eervol vermeld op internasionale filmfees, 1982:84). Well-known personalities at times also visited SADF institutions, as found in the example of TV presenter and *Boetie gaan border toe* and *Boetie op maneuvers* actress Janie du Plessis. In 1986 and 1987 Du Plessis, on one occasion accompanied by actresses Elize Maarschalk and Michele Burgess, visited 1 Parachute Battalion's base, and *Paratus*, respectively (Botes, 1986a:24; Janie besoek *Paratus*, 1987:35).

as the SABC during a visit to the Operational Area in 1981. The tour included various facilities and education centres and attending performances by a ‘Bushman’ choir and 202 Battalion’s Kavango soldiers (Mediavroue se kosbare avontuur ‘in die bos’, 1981:40-41). The photographs below depict women reporters, invited by the SADF, witnessing ‘Exercise Cape Lion’ (a weapons and skills exercise) near Vredendal in the Western Cape (Fried, 1987b:22).

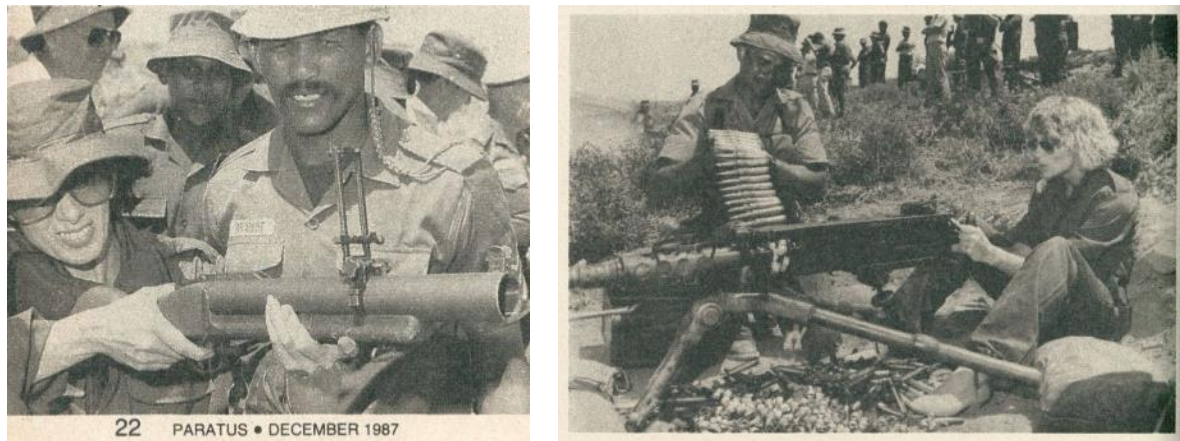


Figure 28: Media sees the Army in action (Fried, 1987b:22).

These strategies used well-known media personalities from a wide array of publications and women (representing wives and mothers) in particular. They served to illustrate the SADF’s positive image that was conveyed to the readership of *Paratus* by using phrases such as ‘’n grootse ondervinding wat in ons gedagtes verewig is’ [‘a spectacular experience eternally lingering in our thoughts’] (Mediavroue se kosbare avontuur ‘in die bos’, 1981:71) that focused on the satisfactory nature of these visits, and by purposefully constructed articles and photographs featuring the (happy) participation of civilians (bringing the ‘unknown’ into the homes of civilians).

Commando featured reviews of war films such as *Battle of the Bulge* (Film of the month: Battle of the Bulge, 1966:34-35) and included commentaries on war films produced by Hollywood (Rolprente vir 1966: Hollywood maak nog steeds oorlog, 1966:42-43). While sensitisation towards the military was conveyed through shows and discourses of these films, the gender aspect also surfaced, as seen in the photograph below. While women were invited to be observers of military might and competence, they were still considered to be less able to actively or successfully participate in activities of war, other than raising future soldiers and

supporting war efforts in domestic ways. Additionally, the choice of image and comments may most likely be a jibe at the (guerrilla) liberation movements.



Figure 29: 'Not candidates for a beauty competition, but guerrilla fighters from the movie, "The Naked Brigade"' (Rolprente vir 1966, 1966:43).²⁴¹

Paratus also capitalised on the successes of famous media personalities, sometimes exchanging their careers for one in the military. Writing about SADF individuals who featured in the media, the impression was created that similar opportunities awaited prospective recruits who joined

²⁴¹ See also comments in the June 1966 issue of *Commando* regarding weapons handled by women (Rolprent van die maand: Viva Maria! Twee gevaarlike nooiens, 1966:47)

the SADF.²⁴² By means of the example of the film, *Boetie gaan border toe*, the ANC magazine, *Rixaka*, exposes the support of major institutions and corporations (saving at Barclays Bank, driving a Datsun car and shaving with Wilkinsons) pledged to the SADF (Boetie, hy gaan border toe, 1985:23). The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) played on the title of this film to illustrate the absurdity of the protests within the borders of the country by changing the title to *Boetie gaan Athlone toe*, suggesting that the border has shifted towards the interior of the country (Conway, 2008:87). The film *Jantjie kom huis toe* focused on a South African Cape Corps recruit who became a hero after fighting SWAPO in Namibia (Cawthra, 1986:51). The ingredients for this film included a terrorist attack and the image of the coloured soldier as protector. In contrast to the advantages of being in the SADF, as hailed above, a comment in *Rixaka* (Art against conscription: Jaantjie [sic] kom huis toe, 1985:23) suggested that if your life ‘lack[ed] meaning and direction you [were to] sign up with the SADF’,²⁴³ to convey the notion that conscripts were without hope (or hopeless) and that conscription was a waste of time. *Rixaka* further questioned the conscription value of this film for future coloured recruits (1985:23).

Pro-SADF and military content created the impression that celebrities either supported the war, or that being part of the SADF provided opportunities in the entertainment world, with the possibility of becoming famous – something that many people would have dreamt about. Furthermore, the prominence of army themes created a greater awareness amongst civilians of military matters. Using various media avenues, the war effort was brought close to families, and through this, created a sense of familiarity. The extent of the geographical area reached by the mass media also contributed to spreading the enticing prospects of becoming a member of this large organisation to a country wide audience. Films contributed by romanticising the army thereby displaying the military in a positive light and evoking the admiration of the citizens.

²⁴² Film and television personality, Lieb Bester, for example, exchanged his career in acting for one in the military (Screen star now career soldier, 1982:27), while Rifleman Murray McGibbon was given a write-up about his theatre background and successes (Quite a celebrity, 1982:56) and Lieutenant Ina Fourie featured in the film, *Broer Matie* [‘Brother Matie’] (Skielik rolprentster, 1984:55).

²⁴³ For more on this, see the section on the SA Cape Corps (Chapter Seven) and ‘Art against conscription: Jaantjie kom huis toe’ (1985:23).

Music played an important role during the Vietnam War which was later carried through to the Hollywood film industry where the popular music of the time featured in Vietnam films such as *Apocalypse now*, *The deer hunter*, *Full metal jacket* and *Good morning Vietnam*, creating a nostalgia when hearing music from the past (Andresen, 2000:12). This fusion of war and film was applicable not only to the United States and Vietnam. The apartheid government also used the medium of film to spread its own ideology, although music in the South African context did not feature to the same extent as it had in Vietnam. Whereas the music of the Vietnam War era spoke for itself beyond the film medium (achieving almost a kind of cult status), the music in the South African film medium was pushed to the background and merely served to support the dominant story line. As pro-government and pro-military film makers received film subsidies, higher subsidies were granted to Afrikaans films and films directed at the white market, as opposed to English films and films directed at the black population. Typically, the enemy was portrayed as debased and cruel, while the image of the SADF was portrayed in terms of bravery and heroism (Craig, 2008:63-65; Tomaselli, 1979:16-20).²⁴⁴ *Tawwe Tienies*, a comedy (produced by Brigadiers Film Company), which featured a number of well-known personalities (as can be seen in the photograph below), portrayed events involving a terrorist that wanted to blow up a water tower in a small town called Kermkraal and how a home guard, established by the residents of Kermkraal, took the upper hand (Die 'Tawwe Tienies' van Kermkraal, 1984:23). The subliminal message here might indicate that a small group of unskilled people can fight an incompetent enemy.

²⁴⁴ In this regard, Tomaselli (1984:9) refers to 'a simplistic reduction to binary opposites' of 'good vs bad, war vs peace and blacks vs whites', thus 'terrorist (black) = bad; soldier/policeman/student informer (white) = good: and 'loyal' black (especially those on the side of the South African forces) = good + bad (a sort of reformed black)'. The SADF's role of defence against communism was portrayed in films such as *Vesting van die Suide/Bastion of the South* (Warwick, 2009:328, 438), *Aanslag op Kariba* ['Attack on Cariba']; *Kaptein Caprivi* ['Captain Caprivi'], *Terrorist, Grensbasis 13* ['Border Base 13'], *40 Days* and *April '80* (Cawthra, 1986:51; Craig, 2008:63-65). The June 1978 issue of *Paratus* also placed a two-page feature with colour images (posing a lady on one photograph and men in uniforms on the other) on the South African-produced 'action adventure' film, *The wild geese*, proceeds from which were to go to the SADF Fund (Carney, 1978:26-27). A television drama series *Recce* featured the SADF and a number of well-known South African personalities (Jooste, 1988:29). *Ouens soos ons* ['Boys like us'] depicted South African recipients of the Honoris Crux medal for bravery from 1976 to 1980 and included actors Lieb Bester, Danie Niehaus, Patrick Mynhardt and Barry Trengrove, as well as staff from the SADF in supporting roles (Ouens soos ons, 1985:38).



Figure 30: 'Terrs, we are ready for you!' (Die 'Tawwe Tienies' van Kermkraal, 1984:23).

6.1 Censorship and the media

The realities of the South African Border War as experienced by those who actively participated differed to a large extent from the realities of those at home. Viewed through the prism of censorship, the realities for those at home remained clandestine. Williams (2008:16) writes about the South African government's denial of Operation Savannah in 1975, while Baines (2008:9) refers to a "black out" of coverage by local media during that operation. Border visits were arranged for selected journalists, members of parliament, celebrities and dignitaries

merely for propaganda purposes (Baines, 2008:9). It is thus not surprising that the SADF attempted to gain a foothold in the media,²⁴⁵ enabling them to apply censorship.

In line with apartheid policy, different radio stations had been established for different racial groups (Kerkhof, 1986:27-31), while communist and anti-state content was censored (Morrow, 2009:24-25, 30-33). The manipulation of perceptions about the security situation was part of the function of the SABC – a useful tool to reach the 70% of the white population who had access to various broadcasting media (Conway, 2008:76).²⁴⁶

The choice of music in the presentation of programmes further played a role, as Morrow (2009:26-29) illustrates. A particular case in point was the use of marching music during Radio South Africa English Service and Springbok Radio broadcasts in 1969, pertaining to the Apollo 11 mission to the moon. Marching music triggers an association with the military environment (ceremonies and processions), which relates to the ideals of ‘discipline, bravery and power’. The association which is then created between the news bulletin and the music is of a military nature. Military band music was broadcast by the SABC on programmes such as *Suid-Afrikaanse militêre orkeste speel* [‘South African military bands perform’] and *Bandstand* to boost the image of the military band and to take military music into households unable to see live military band performances (Imrie, 1976:62). In this way, military music, presented as entertainment, served as diversion from the military’s original objective – that of making war, while it was still believed that the SADF was fighting an enemy. Other broadcasts included cadet bands on radio and television,²⁴⁷ such as the band of Bishop’s High School (Bishops’ cadets point the way to National Service, 1982:45) and Queens College School’s Freedom of Entry to Queenstown, which were recorded by a team of the SABC magazine programme, *Video 2* (An unique honour for the Queens College Cadets, 1984:35). The SA Navy’s training facility, the SAS Simonsberg in Simon’s Town, also featured on this programme, which

²⁴⁵ In this regard, see ‘Agreement with NPU signed’ (1988:43), Odendaal (1970:15, 29) and Smith (1974:4-5).

²⁴⁶ See also the work of Michael Drewett (2004), Claudia Jansen van Rensburg (2013) and Ian Kerkhof (1986:27-31) on censorship of the media.

²⁴⁷ Television was first introduced in South Africa in 1975 (Williams, 2008:16). The reason for the late introduction to this medium stemmed from government opposition motivated by fears of the role that television could play in the opposition to Christian Nationalism (Cros, n.d.).

attempted to '[bring] the SA Navy into the homes of millions of viewers' (Video 2 comes to Simon's Town, 1983:78). Broadcasting these programmes (featuring aspects and music related to the military) into the 'homes of millions of viewers' (the home as safe and intimate setting) domesticated the phenomenon of militarisation in households throughout the country.

The blurring of the military and civilian life was similarly witnessed where either well-known personalities appeared on radio or television either as independent celebrities, or as former National Servicemen, or as active National Servicemen. Their successes as celebrities were commemorated in *Paratus*. This included Springbok Radio's *Pop Shop* presenter, Karl Kikillus, who drew on his experiences from the SADF (Former SAAF pilot presents TV's *Pop Shop*, 1981:47) and other personalities such as SABC TV's Alewyn Lee (*Dis My Geheim* [That's my secret], Fanus Rautenbach. Perhaps most prominent of these is the film star and producer Leon Schuster, who travelled by military aircraft on invitation by the SA Navy's Orientation Service to perform for the SADF in the Cape (SAW se gasvryheid en Kaap nie gou vergeet, 1984:74-75). Special guests at the premiere of the film, *Blink Stefaans*, included a number of celebrities who featured in the film. The premier was arranged entirely by officers from the Air Force Base at Swartkops for the renovation of their building, (Première was 'n groot sukses, 1981:78). For the SA Army Winners' Gala at the University of Pretoria's Rembrandt Hall (sponsored by the South African Defence Force Institute – SADFI and Nedbank), the SABC televised a variety programme in May 1985 (Fish & Primich, 1985:4-5). Groups hailed from the ranks of the SADF, such as the David Song Group, and featured on television on the programme *Kruis en Kroniek* ['Cross and Chronicle'] (Thorpe, 1988:33). The workers choir of the Air Force Station at Voortrekkerhoogte who won a competition, received a TV-2 recording (Werkerkoor seëvier, 1989:9). Events with the SADF in action were also broadcast occasionally. One such example included an SABC-TV documentary of the SA Army Band recording an LP (*The whistling troopie*), which included the 'first officially accepted lyrics of the SA Army March' on Olaf Andressen's 'Heidelied' of 1963 (Book and record morale boosters, 1983:46).

Censorship in South Africa led to several radio stations broadcasting from neighbouring countries. One example is MPLA Radio, which could only broadcast for 15 and 20 minutes from Brazzaville and Lusaka respectively (Shubin, 2008:22). It is also evident that South African soldiers on the border listened to MPLA Radio, as Bakkes (2009:99) describes its

sound heard amidst the sounds of a generator, explosions in the distance, together with the snoring of his companions. Other radio stations included Radio Freedom (Listen to Radio Freedom, 1975:6),²⁴⁸ The Voice of Namibia Radio Services (1982:19, 1986:18), Radio Tanzania (ANC news broadcasts, 1968:8) and anti-FRELIMO *Voz da Africa Livre* (Voice of Free Africa) (Cawthra, 1986:161).²⁴⁹ Popular radio stations with SADF soldiers included Radio 702 and Radio 5 (Cloete, 2009:25, 44, 46, 83; Morris, 2017), LM Radio and Springbok Radio (Van der Merwe, 2017). From the questionnaire responses, the priority order of radio stations for SADF soldiers included Springbok Radio, Radio Highveld, Radio 5, LM Radio and Radio South Africa: English Service, Radio 702 and the Afrikaanse Diens van die SAUK (Currently known as Radio Sonder Grense) equally, followed by the Voice of America, Radio Ovambo and Capital Radio 604. Cloete's (2009:15, 44) reference to Jennifer Rush's 'Ring of ice' playing during preparation for inspection, confirms that radio and music, often formed part of the background noise (yet noticeable) and became engrained in the life of the soldier.

6.2 Radio request programmes

Based on Anthony Giddens's theory of trust, Morrow (2009:8-9, 23-24) pointed out that the SABC employed specific presenters who became the 'face' of specific programmes. Character traits such as 'trustworthy' and 'respectable' were needed to build a kind of relationship whereby listeners felt they could depend on these personalities for information, entertainment and comfort (2009:23-24, 34-35), thus instilling a certain level of trust in the war effort. A more 'personal touch' appeared through radio request programmes such as *Forces' Favourites*, *Springbok Rendezvous*, *Salute* and *Voorwaarts/Onwards*, which featured music and personal messages to soldiers (Morrow, 2009:45). The friendly voice of radio presenter 'Tannie Esmé Euvrard' [Aunty Esmé Euvrard],²⁵⁰ instilled a form of trust in the soldiers as protectors as well as in the public, who had a sense of being protected from the perceived communist threat.

²⁴⁸ Radio Freedom was also broadcast via radio stations outside South Africa such as Radio Uganda, Radio Lusaka, Radio Madagascar, Radio Ethiopia and Radio Tanzania (Listen to Radio Freedom, 1985:1).

²⁴⁹ See also Vcelar (1981) and Hydén, Leslie and Ogundimu (2002).

²⁵⁰ See, for example the reference to her in the April 1983 issue of *Paratus* (Nog 'n Projek Mikrofoon, 1983:77).

Incidentally, Euvrard also visited the border and military institutions to boost troop morale.²⁵¹ Now soldiers had a face to attach to the voice – more personal and intimate, real, caring, and not so far away. The photograph below depicts Euvrard in a military tank during a visit to the border, protected by her ‘boys’.

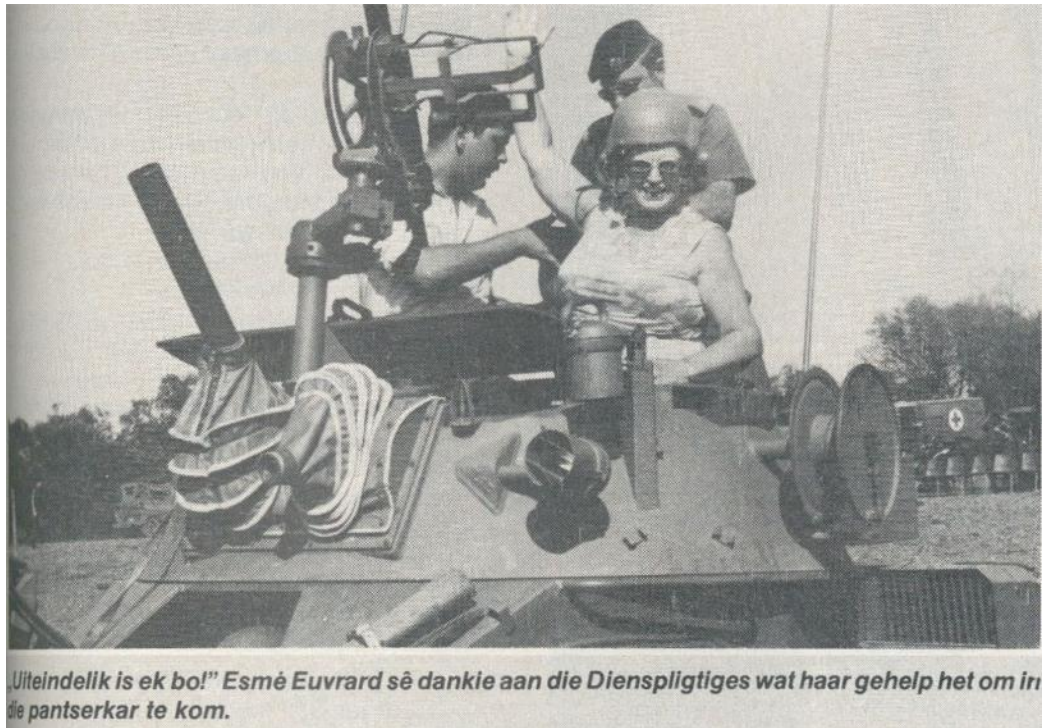


Figure 31: Esmé Euvrard in an armoured car (Nog 'n Projek Mikrofoon, 1983:77).

Despite the unreliable radio reception on the border, soldiers still had access to the sounds of ‘home’ through the songs associated with civilian life.²⁵² These sounds, transported across miles by the music and radio request programmes, provided emotional, psychological and even

²⁵¹ Morale boosting examples included ‘Nog 'n Projek Mikrofoon’ [‘Another Project Microphone’] (1983:77). ‘Projek Mikrofoon’ entailed travels by well-known media personalities to military establishments throughout specific areas in the country to interview and record soldiers for programmes to be broadcast by the SABC. See, for example, ‘Projek Mikrofoon: SAUK leer ons mense in die Noord-Kaap ken’ [‘Project Microphone: SABC gets to know our people in the Northern Cape’] (1982:60-61).

²⁵² See also the comment about the ‘invisible links’ between the soldier and home in “‘Min hare, baie dae” strictly as requested’ (1977:30-31).

physical (recuperation) support (Morrow, 2009:73-76). The positive reception of these programmes is apparent as ex-soldiers were still able to recall the timeslots of particular programmes (Morrow, 2009:75-77). These programmes, in conjunction with the music broadcast by the SABC on radio, helped shape the perceptions of soldiers and civilians alike in the broader context of the Cold War and anti-communist propaganda.²⁵³ As mentioned earlier, National Servicemen were able to arrange safe journeys home through the *Ride Safe* scheme and Fanus Rautenbach's radio programme, *Vra vir Fanus* ['Ask Fanus'] (Begeesterde vroue vind rygeleenthede vir NDPs, 1979:20-21; Dwarsoor die land gaan harte en huise vir NDPs oop, 1979:20-21). The *Ride Safe* advertisements on Springbok Radio, featuring Esmé Euvrard's voice, were accompanied by performances such as Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore's American Civil War song of 1863, 'When Johnny comes marching home', written in military march style (Morrow, 2009:35-36). Using these strategies, military ideals, as a characteristic of militarisation, were effectively brought into the homes of civilians.

The general request programme, *Forces' Favourites* (formerly *Springbok Rendezvous*), presented by Patricia Kerr on Sundays (Gebeurtenis van die maand: SAUK vroue vir diens aan SAW vereer, 1980:52),²⁵⁴ celebrated its 25th year by July 1987 (*Forces' Favourites* almost 25 years old, 1987:34). The popularity of this programme could be gauged by the 300 letters to be processed at times (Gebeurtenis van die maand: SAUK vroue, 1980:52). Former teacher Mari Coetzer kept National Servicemen up to date with events on the home front by means of her programme,²⁵⁵ *Op die Plek Rus*, providing 'a link between the home and the military camp' (since 1971).²⁵⁶ Singer and Radio 5 presenter of *Staan en Rus*, Marie van Zyl, preferred to

²⁵³ See Morrow (2009:101-102).

²⁵⁴ A number of these request programmes were in specific time slots. *Op die Plek Rus*, shifted from the slot on Monday evenings to Saturday and Sunday afternoons (Gebeurtenis van die maand: SAUK vroue, 1980:52). *Sunday Rendezvous* (Radio Oranje) was broadcast on Sundays from 15h30 to 17h30 (Davies, 1987:14), *Voorwaarts/Onwards* on Sundays from 21h00 to 21h30 on Radio 2000 (Pitkos vir uniformdraers in radioprogram, 1988:41) and *Saturday Salute* or *Saterdag Sahuut* (on Saturdays at 13h35 on the Afrikaans service) (Amanda het groot planne met troepe, 1985:57).

²⁵⁵ Mari Coetzer, whose husband was a major in the Citizen Force, was a teacher at the Florida Primary School for seven years before taking up employment with the SABC (Mari Coetzer gesels lekker met *Paratus*, 1981:68).

²⁵⁶ See also Morrow (2009:79-81) on radio request programmes (particularly the example of Patricia Kerr) as a link between the camp and those at home and the mediating role of music in these contexts. For Mari Coetzer,

convey messages by means of music, which included her own countrywide and border performances and her song, 'Daar's 'n man op die grens/Boy on the border' (Gebeurtenis van die maand: SAUK vroue vir diens aan SAW vereer, 1980:52). Programmes by Radio Oranje included *Oranje Rendezvous* by presenter Marcél Cronjé (Botes, 1986b:49) and *Sunday Rendezvous* by Technikon lecturer Jeanette Geldenhuys, also known as 'Lady in Red' based on the popularity of the Chris de Burgh song with the same title (Davies, 1987:14). While Cronjé's programme featured a section, *Troepiepos* ['Troopie mail'], for girls to have their addresses broadcast on radio enabling soldiers to write to them (Botes, 1986b:49), Geldenhuys included 'softer tunes' for the 'older generations' and Afrikaans music for the predominantly Afrikaans audience (Davies, 1987:14). The bilingual programme, *Voorwaarts/Onwards* (from January 1988) was presented in her spare time by Further Education lecturer Elreza Mulder (who was married to a soldier) on Radio 2000 (later also Radio Pulpit) to 'provide a sympathetic ear' and to motivate the soldiers with music and conversation (Pitkos vir uniformdraers in radioprogram, 1988:41). Although these programmes are aimed at soldiers (according to *Paratus* reportage) *Saturday Salute* (*Saterdag Saluut*) presenter Amanda Olivier, who took over from Dine van Zyl, directed her programme at National Servicemen and the broader public (Amanda het groot planne met troepe, 1985:57), thus confirming the link that these programmes serve between soldier and civilians.

Occasional visits were also undertaken by these presenters to the border and military hospitals and bases where they had an opportunity to familiarise themselves with and report from these environments, and also to record messages from troops, giving a personal dimension to the programmes by recording messages by the soldiers. Examples include border visits by Mari Coetzer (*Op die Plek Rus*)²⁵⁷ and Amanda Olivier (*Saturday Salute*) (Amanda het groot planne

these programmes also served to educate those at home about the circumstances of those on the border, and to encourage the senders to send positive messages to build morale (Mari Coetzer gesels lekker met *Paratus*, 1981:68). Marcél Cronjé of Oranje Rendezvous also emphasized the idea of her programme being a link between the troops and home (Botes, 1986b:49).

²⁵⁷ See also 'Radiovroue lekker onthaal op Katima Mulilo' ['Radio women treated at Katima Mulilo'] (1981:68) and 'Mari Coetzer gesels lekker met *Paratus*' ['Mari Coetzer enjoys talking to *Paratus*'] (1981:68) about women visiting the border. In 'Mari Coetzer gesels lekker met *Paratus*', Coetzer spoke about the privilege of visiting the border, of seeing how the men lived, how they got by with the bare minimum and the sacrifices that they made.

met troepe, 1985:57; Pentopoulos, 1988b:40) and broadcasts from 1 Military Hospital by Radio Highveld presenter Marina Newton. Requests by soldiers who were to spend Christmas in the hospital indicated the popularity of Cliff Richard's song, '40 days' (Hospitaalversoeke uit 1 Mil Hosp uitgesaai, 1982:49).

Covering further geographical spaces, the Radio RSA (Foreign Service) programme, *Kontak/Contact* (since July 1977) also reached POWs in Angola and from the write-up in *Paratus* it is clear that this boosted the morale of these POWs. Initially, the programme was broadcast on Wednesdays and Saturdays and later shifted to a two-hour long slot on Sundays from 15h00 to 17h00. Starting with a church service (recorded by various chaplains with accompanying organ music), the rest of the programme consisted of requests and messages (presenters Patricia Kerr and Mari Coetzer), a news bulletin (*Die Weermag in die Nuus* ['The Army in the News']), news commentaries and national and international news, introduced with the signature sound of the bokmakierie bird and the first few notes of the song, 'Sarie Marais'. This effort, under the direction of Pieter la Cock, involved a large team of presenters and technicians, as well as staff from *Paratus*, who were sourcing and preparing content for the programme (Radioprogram wat die hart verbly, 1979:6-7).

The examples in this section highlight that a variety of programmes was specifically intended for the soldiers and that these programmes acted as a channel linking the soldier and the home front. Recognising the contribution made by the presenters, as reported in *Paratus*,²⁵⁸ confirms the notion of the supporting role of the woman in (white) South African society (also as emphasised by the example of the SAAWC), and the value that the SADF placed on these

Not only did the men receive attention, as Coetzer also expressed her respect for the 'border woman' ['die grensvrou'], who also had to get by with the bare minimum and who was regarded as a strong woman. She further assured those at home that their sons were safe and well looked after.

²⁵⁸ These presenters included: Patricia Kerr, Esmé Euvrard, Mari Coetzer and Marie van Zyl, awarded by the Municipality of Springs (Gebeurtenis van die maand: SAUK vroue vir diens aan SAW vereer, 1980:52), Amanda Olivier's 'Chief of the Army Commendation Certificate' awarded by Lieutenant-general Kat Liebenberg for her programme *Saturday Salute* (Pentopoulos, 1988b:40) and the 'Order of the Star of South Africa for Exceptional Service of Military Importance' awarded to Patricia Kerr (Forces' Favourites almost 25 years old, 1987:34).

programmes in maintaining troop morale, yet, at the same time, involving civilians in the process of militarisation.

Featuring reports of visits to the Johannesburg SABC studios *Paratus* provided more insight into the way that some of these radio request programmes were compiled using a live demonstration by Patricia Kerr and Mari Coetzer ('Min hare, baie dae' strictly as requested, 1977:30-31). Pat Kerr was seen reading letters and underlining passages to be broadcast on a rotational basis (thus not necessarily broadcast in the same week the letter was written),²⁵⁹ while Mari Coetzer used 'scientific methods' (arranging requests in alphabetical order) to compile her programme. Broadcasting times covered 80 minutes (2 sessions per week: 30 minutes on Wednesdays and 50 minutes on Saturdays) for Mari Coetzer and 105 minutes for Pat Kerr. Mari Coetzer could address about 100 letters in 30 minutes and 200 letters in 50 minutes. Kerr also took trips to the border, where she recorded messages from soldiers.²⁶⁰ Costs incurred with telephonic, phonogram and telegram notifications to families to inform them of broadcasting dates were borne by Kerr and the SABC. This financial contribution from the presenter and the SABC thus suggests a civilian commitment towards the border war and the ideals of the apartheid state. Kerr also hosted a pen-friend club, whereby girls could write to her in return for a list of interested National Servicemen. This sometimes paid off as Kerr was invited to a wedding as a result of the club ('Min hare, baie dae', 1977:31). Patricia Kerr in her show, *Forces' Favourites*, makes it evident that there were repeated requests for the same records, in which case Kerr sometimes took the liberty of playing music that was not necessarily requested ('Min hare, baie dae', 1977:31). *Salute* presenter and Madagascar-born Gail Adams (photographed with an issue of *Paratus*) took four days to visit 17 base camps in South Africa, the border and Walvis Bay as a 'tour of duty' gaining insight into the preferences of the soldiers ('the boys') for 'their' programme 'on their own turf', learning from her target

²⁵⁹ After collecting the mail on Friday mornings, Patricia Kerr sorted it in date order, drew the recordings from the record library and notified listeners telephonically or by telegram about return messages for soldiers (*Forces' Favourites* almost 25 years old, 1987:34).

²⁶⁰ Kerr and Coetzer both started visiting the Border from 1972 to record messages from troops (Mari Coetzer *gesels lekker met Paratus*, 1981:68).

audience, including generals, that music was indeed a top priority.²⁶¹ These programmes supplemented the limited number of sound cassettes that soldiers listened to repeatedly.²⁶² Styles of music varied from Reggae to New Wave or Heavy Metal and Country, and performers such as the Rolling Stones, Jimi Hendrix, Joanie Mitchell or new commercial bands (Margolis, 1983:57). The more popular songs featured Cyndi Lauper's 'Girls just wanna have fun' (Morrow, 2009:59), 'Soldier son', the all-time favourite, 'I need you' by Ricky Nelson, 'For your precious love' by the Flames, and songs by the Bee Gees, such as 'Don't forget to remember' and 'Gotta get a message to you' (2009:46-49). Interestingly, *Paratus* does not expand on any of these genres of music or describe it as necessarily rebellious. The assumption is that music that was broadcast had already passed through the processes of censorship.

In line with the perceived international communist threat, and the government's justification of the Border War on local level, civilian society was also persuaded to participate in some way or another. To elicit the participation of civilians, more prominent military-related matters featured in the media. The medium of broadcasting was used to connect soldiers to loved ones at home, while simultaneously increased loyalty from civilians to the system.

6.3 Summary

As can be seen from the above, the media played an integral role in providing a presence for the SADF by means of news broadcasts, reports, advertisements, war films and so forth. The SADF's association with the media provided a position from which they could exert more control over content to be published. Part of SADF propaganda included inviting well-known

²⁶¹ Margolis (1983:57) sheds some light on the nature of the programme *Salute*, where listeners indicated an interest in sports and general practical information 'like how to modify trail bikes'. The importance of Afrikaans surfaced at times, as illustrated by the example of *Forces' Favourites* Patricia Kerr, who resolved 'to become more *au fait* with Afrikaans' due to the number of letters she received in Afrikaans, which were translated to English. There were also exceptions when she broadcast in languages such as Portuguese, Italian, German and French ('Min hare, baie dae' strictly as requested, 1977:31).

²⁶² Cloete (2009:45) and Morrow (2009:59), for example, refer to the repeated playing of certain popular songs such as Queen's *I want to break free*, which was played any time of the day, including the early hours of the morning, to the extent that it caused an aversion to the specific song, even after National Service.

media personalities from various publications to the border and military institutions from where they were able to provide pro-SADF reports to civilians.

Paratus also reported about well-known personalities and their association with the SADF, as former National Servicemen, or as being members of the SADF, as found with the examples of Springbok Radio presenter, Karl Kikillus and actor Lieb Bester, who exchanged his acting career for a career in the military. The general impression was created that these famous personalities supported the Border War.

The SADF further promoted itself through the medium of film with content that portrayed the enemy as cruel and the SADF as brave and heroic. The propaganda film, *Jantjie kom huis toe*, for example, aimed at coloured conscripts, focused on the bravery of a South African Cape Corps recruit in the war with SWAPO.

Considering the censorship of communist and anti-state content, various radio stations, such as Radio Freedom and the Voice of Namibia started broadcasting from outside the South African borders. The SADF particularly capitalised on the radio and television to reach audiences far and wide. Musical content included broadcasts on military bands such as *Suid-Afrikaanse militêre orkeste speel* and *Bandstand*, and broadcasts of cadet and military bands on radio and television. Broadcasting music programmes through these media thus aided in giving larger exposure and presence to the military. Occasional outcomes of these broadcasts turned into recordings that could repeatedly be played in the comfort of the home setting, as seen by the example of the SA Army Band's recording, *The whistling troopie*. Radio request programmes, aimed at National Servicemen and civilians alike, served as link between civilians and soldiers on the border and in the bases. Content such as personal messages and music preferences reminded soldiers of home and civilians of those far away from home. Music that featured on these programmes was most likely linked to pleasant memories.

The examples in this chapter thus illustrate how the media was employed to convey the military ideals of the SADF, as a characteristic of militarisation, and how these ideals penetrated the homes of civilians.

7 SADF Bands and Choirs

Military institutions are not only smaller versions of the broader societies within which they function, but they also contribute in shaping these societies (Van der Waag, 2013:193). They have inherent military cultures based on traditional military values (service, duty, honour, and courage), ethics and professionalism (Deacon, 1995:32). These factors all play a role in the operational organisation of these institutions (Van der Waag, 2013:181). Culture can imply manners in which specific groups identify and function and how they can be recognized through common characteristics such as rituals, symbols and values. These may be externally identifiable through items such as uniforms, buttons and flags (Van der Waag, 2013:182-183). Taking this into account, the South African military landscape, which parallels the South African political landscape, has undergone various changes since the establishment of the UDF in 1912 (2013:193). The UDF initially represented British and Afrikaner value systems but was inclined towards British procedures and instructors to develop South African structures (2013:186, 188). The character of the UDF changed after the Second World War and with the National Party in power, when it leaned more towards an Afrikaner character where members of nationalist associations such as the fascist-style *Ossewa-Brandwag* and nationalist *Broederbond* entered the military. Lower ranking officers now entered higher ranks, leading to a deteriorating military institution and where race soon became a determining factor in identity and military culture (2013:190-191). This links to Deacon's (1995:32) summary of the SADF as 'essentially a conventional defence force with predominantly Western traditions and an Afrikaner Calvinistic culture'. Although visually SADF military bands and instruments mirrored Western bands, apartheid military culture was still maintained in these bands as one can see through a reading of *Paratus*. Unit and homeland bands were formed according to race and were distinguishable by their specific uniforms. They also functioned with separate training facilities (Evans, 1983:28-29). British traditions were also maintained, as can be seen by the formation of pipe bands and by instructors with British heritage.²⁶³

²⁶³ See also Imrie (1976:7).

The SADF bands divided according to race were as follows:²⁶⁴

White unit bands	Black unit bands	Coloured unit bands	Indian unit bands
1 Maintenance Unit Band	1 Transkei Battalion	SA Cape Corps Band	SAS Jalsena Band
Light Horse Regiment Band	21 Battalion Band (Lenz)	201 Battalion ('Bushman', Omega)	
Natal Carbineers Band	111 Battalion (Swazi, Amsterdam)		
South African Air Force Band (Pretoria)	112 Battalion (Venda, Madimbo)		
South African Army Band	113 Battalion (Shangaan, Letaba Ranch),		
South African Army Women's College Band	115 Battalion (Ndebele, Shenandoah),		
South African Infantry Band	116 Battalion (Messina)		
South African Medical Service Band	121 Zulu Battalion (Dukuduku),		
South African Navy Band	Bophuthatswana Defence Force		
South African Police Band			
South African Prison Service Band			
South West African Territorial Force Band			
Transvaal Scottish Band			
Witwatersrand Rifles Band			

Unit choirs included the white SA Army Church Choir and Concert Group and black 1 Military Hospital and 202 Battalion (Kavango) choirs. The mention of each band with its own

²⁶⁴ See Grundy (1983) on these units of different race groups.

entertainment group, or in the case of the SA Navy Band its own string orchestra (Orkeste van die Weermag dra beeld na buite 1977:15), indicated that these were popular military bands.

The function of the military band throughout history included the regulation of soldiers' movement (rhythm of war), motivation for battle, to act as morale booster, as accompaniment at military parades (Imrie, 1976:2-4), public entertainment, announcing royal visits (from the United Kingdom) and providing relaxation for soldiers at the frontier (Henning, 1984:236-237). The presence of these military bands also laid the foundations for amateur bands (1984:236-237). This chapter documents the separate black, coloured, Indian, white and homeland units, with their respective bands or choirs (also as part of the strategy of counterinsurgency warfare).²⁶⁵ The descriptions of the bands and the amount of information on units and their bands in this study, are based on the information that was available in *Paratus*. Occasionally, I supplemented this information with other sources, especially where more clarification was needed. One such example includes the earlier histories of the SA Cape Corps. This section includes short histories of the units and their bands, as noted in *Paratus*.

7.1 SADF Bands

7.1.1 1 Maintenance Unit

Although Pressly (1989c:28) gave 1 November 1968 as the founding date for 1 Maintenance Unit, no further dates for the formation of the brass, march (the 'pride of the Unit') or dance bands were provided. As expected, the march band performed at military functions such as the presentation of the National Colour to the Vaalharts Command, 1 Maintenance Unit, the Kimberley Regiment and 8 SAI in Upington (Pressly, 1989c:44).²⁶⁶ Training involved music and military training, and although a small number of musicians had musical training before joining the Band, most members had to learn musical skills from the beginning, assisted by those with musical training. Repertoire for the band, set to 'march rhythm', included 'Puppet

²⁶⁵ Counterinsurgency warfare also involves knowledge of the languages and cultures of local groups, as can be found with frequent references to cultural events and traditional songs and dancing in *Paratus*. See, for example, Jersich (1986b) and Möller (1975).

²⁶⁶ See also Hennop (1989:33).

on a string', 'La paloma', 'Pink panther', 'Perfect' and 'The Green Berets', selected from a repertoire of more than 80 works. In this, the 'rhythm of war' conveyed through the medium of popular works superimposed on a marching rhythm provided the soundtrack for the militarisation of society. Although clothed as popular music, the inner workings were still military: in service of the military, wearing military uniforms and re-packaging the music in a military format. The description of giving 'moving renderings' of the National Anthem, 'Reveille', 'Last Post' and 'Retreat' (1989c:44), reveals that military music possesses certain qualities that can draw affect. The National Anthem, in combination with the 'Reveille', 'Last Post' and 'Retreat' are typical examples of music that can instil pride and patriotism. In 1988 the Unit's 'Amusement Orchestra' under the direction of Warrant Officer De Meyer 'delighted the audience with their skills' at a choir evening presented by 2 SAI Battalion and Walvis Bay High School (Choir began to recognise talent, 1988:4).



Figure 32: Band Major Eric Bester leading 1 Maintenance Unit's marching band (Pressly, 1989c:44).

The Unit's dance band, also with only a few musicians who had formal musical training, performed at military and private functions (Pressly, 1989c:44).



Figure 33:1 Maintenance Unit dance band (Pressly, 1989c:28).

7.1.2 1 Transkei Battalion

Articles in *Paratus* convey the enthusiasm (Burke & Economides, 1975:8) and pride (Leon, 1976:21) amongst recruits about serving in 1 Transkei Battalion, which operated with the assistance of the SADF. They received training (first at Eersterivier and later at Lenz close to Bloemfontein) in personal hygiene, neatness and discipline (Leon, 1976:19).²⁶⁷ Singing ‘Nkosi sikelel’i Afrika’ (God Bless Africa) before embarking for their training (accompanied by a prayer led by Rev. F. de Waal Mahlasela) and singing ‘beautiful Xhosa songs’ after physical training, rifle drills and target shooting, indicate the role of music in informal settings such as training, travelling and moving between locations. It is interesting to note that ‘Nkosi sikelel’i Afrika’, which was sung at anti-apartheid political meetings, was not questioned and that it received special mention in an apartheid government mouthpiece such as *Paratus*.²⁶⁸ During the visit of the *Paratus* reporter the men, who could not play music instruments two weeks

²⁶⁷ See Coetzee (1975:2-3) and Cawthra (1985:126-127) for the establishment and functions of the 1 Transkei Battalion.

²⁶⁸ See, for example, Moloantoa (2017) and South African Government (2020) for an overview of ‘Nkosi Sikelel’i Afrika’.

before, performed ‘The Green Berets’ (‘dedication, enthusiasm and patriotism’ were seen as characteristics of the Battalion) and ‘Our Father’ in isiXhosa, ‘which left a vivid impression’ (Leon, 1976:19, 21). Again, labels such as ‘personal hygiene’, ‘neatness’, ‘discipline’ and ‘beautiful Xhosa songs’ confirms perceptions that black people were dirty and lazy, yet good singers. SAS Jalsena’s Bandmaster, Warrant Officer J.F. Spencer, was responsible for establishing the 1 Transkei Battalion Band,²⁶⁹ which, in 1976 totalled 11 members (Leon, 1976:21).

● WO2 J. F. Spencer, under whose baton the band falls, says: “I’m very pleased with the progress these men have made, and I’m proud to be associated with the future Transkei Army.”



STIRRING SOUNDS

Behind the mess, a makeshift room for the fledgling band. Under the careful eye of WO2 J. F. Spencer, formerly of the SA Army Band, the 11 members of the band have managed to produce stirring sounds in a short period. Their number will be increased to 26 once the new intake has completed basic training.

Whilst the men were queuing for lunch, I asked Pte L. Goboda from the Cofimuaba district of the Transkei, what he thought of life in 1 Transkei Battalion. He replied: “I like it and I’m proud to be helping my nation in this important work.”

Maj Jordaan explained how the men always sang beautiful Xhosa songs after PT, rifle drill and target shooting. At his request the troops gave their rendering of “Our Father” in Xhosa, which left a vivid impression.

PARATUS • MAART 1976 21

Figure 34: WO2 J.F. Spencer with the 1 Transkei Battalion Band (Leon, 1976:21).

7.1.3 21 Battalion

21 Battalion at Lenz (initially known as the South African Army Bantu Training School, established in 1974) served as a training centre for black soldiers for the SADF and as a conduit for the homelands military units (John, 1985:52-53) such as 1 Transkei Battalion, 111 Battalion, 115 Battalion and the Venda Defence Force,²⁷⁰ with some counterinsurgency units serving in Namibia (Cawthra 1986:71). Reasons for conscripts wanting to join the unit included

²⁶⁹ See also ‘SAS Jalsena’s Bandmaster’ (1982:54-55) and Rourke (1986:58-59).

²⁷⁰ See also Mills (1989a:30-31).

‘defending the country’, ‘to learn’ and career opportunities offered by the SADF (This is why blacks volunteer for 21 BN, 1981:65), suggesting their loyalty to the SADF. Their name was derived from the 21st anniversary of the SA Infantry Corps (Pentopoulos, 1988a:16). Starting off with 16 members (John, 1985:52), in 1976 the number stood at 83 and in 1979 at 400 (Cawthra 1986:70-71).²⁷¹ In 1982 the 21 Battalion received their Unit flag, in 1983, the Freedom of Soweto and in 1984 the first officers became lieutenants (John, 1985:52-53). Positions in the Permanent Force required a minimum of a Standard 6 for training as instructors, drivers, chefs, military policemen, store operators, clerks, medical staff and musicians (*’n Loopbaan in die Staande Mag*, 1979:34). Members had access to classroom facilities with educational media, where they had the opportunity to obtain Matric certificates (Proudly they stand after Matric, 1986:17; John, 1985:53-54; 21 Battalion’s scholar soldiers, 1980:34). Judging from South African demographics, it is noticeable that all white men (the minority population) had to do National Service, and that ‘non-white’ battalions (with lower qualification requirements) were treated as a select few that made it to the SADF. Their insignia (below) depicting assegais and knobkieries links with apartheid constructs and perceptions of ethnicity.



Figure 35: Insignia for 21 Battalion (Soweto honours her warrior sons, 1983:6).

²⁷¹ John (1985:52) indicates that in 1976 1 Ovambo Battalion and, in anticipation of Transkei independence, 151 members of the 1 Transkei Battalion, were trained at 21 Battalion. In 1978 they also trained members of the Venda National Defence Force.

7.1.3.1 21 Battalion Band formation and history

The original 21 Battalion Band, consisting of seven members, started as a brass band on 1 June 1977.²⁷² The 1985 band consisted of eight trumpeters, three euphonium players, three tenors, three trombonists, four bassists and horns (John, 1985:54), growing to a total of 33 members in 1988 under the direction of Sergeant Major J. M. Sibanyoni (Kleyn, 1988b:17). All band members had obtained theory and practical musical qualifications up to Grade 8 (John, 1985:54) with music Grade 4 (with admission auditions) as a minimum requirement to enter the band (Kleyn, 1988b:17).²⁷³ Attaining these music qualifications indicates that the individual band members were highly skilled and educated musicians. Specific mention is also made of the dedication of the band to maintain high standards (1988b:17).

A pop group (also full-time musicians of the 21 Battalion Band) was formed in 1984 under the direction of Staff Sergeant Lefty Phashe. They performed with the brass band at military tattoos, for television and at shows in places such as Pretoria, Pietersburg, Port Elizabeth and Qwaqwa (John, 1985:54)²⁷⁴ and Bloemfontein (21 Bataljon se orkes laat jou voete jeuk, 1980:8).²⁷⁵ Their repertoire included their own compositions and covered genres such as jazz, rock, reggae and disco music (John, 1985:54). The members, Sergeant Lefty Phashe (bass guitar and leader), Sergeant M.K. Mohafa (trumpet and Royal School of Music in London and Unisa graduate), Sergeant V.Z. Vilakazi (trombone and Royal School of Music in London graduate), Corporal B.P. Malinga (lead singer), Corporal S.C. Zuma (trumpet and played for bands in Soweto), Corporal Ncube (guitar and Unisa graduate); Private Amos [Sechaba] (organist) and Private D. Sebago (drums) (21 Bataljon se orkes laat jou voete jeuk, 1980:8). Descriptions of ‘testimony of what rhythm and a song can do to a soldier and his listeners’ and

²⁷² See also Kleyn (1988b:17).

²⁷³ In ‘Proudly they stand after Matric’ (1986:17) individual members indicated the prospect of obtaining further degrees through Unisa.

²⁷⁴ See ‘Goeie rassebetrekkinge is ons grootste wapen’ [‘Good race relations are our biggest weapon’] (1978:9-11) for their participation in the show at Qwaqwa.

²⁷⁵ Although John (1985:54) gives the formation date as ‘last year’ [1984], there were already reports in the July 1980 issue of *Paratus* about a pop group led by Sergeant Lefty Phashe (21 Bataljon se orkes laat jou voete jeuk, 1980:8). In addition to performances in combination with the pop group, the brass band itself also performed at military parades, carnivals and commemoration services (Kleyn, 1988b:17).

playing the organ so ‘that one’s feet itch’ point not only to the positive reception and popularity of this group, but also to the role of music in recreation and in arousing feelings of excitement. In conjunction with the description of the enjoyment of the performers, the comment on how wonderful it is to be a soldier shows the relation between music and the soldier as performer and links the privilege and enjoyment of this kind of performance to being in the military. The fact that these lively performances by a black popular music band took place at various events in a number of cities in South Africa, and that they were broadcast widely, indicates how the music may have served as drawing card for future black recruits, while at the same time, it was used as vehicle to express the racial ideology connected to the SADF.

7.1.3.2 Honours and awards

On occasions 21 Battalion was awarded the Freedom of Entry into cities. The first such occasion was the Freedom of Soweto in 1983, the first time in South Africa a military unit received the Freedom of Entry to a black city.²⁷⁶ This event was witnessed by an ‘enthusiastic audience’ of ‘ululating women, ‘excited children’, smiling young men keeping pace with the soldiers and youngsters imitating soldiers. They were ‘absorbed’ in the military hardware display, the soldiers’ ‘clockwork precision’ and the marching music by the brass band. Mention was also made of many learners in school uniforms joining the proceedings in a ‘relaxed, almost carnival atmosphere’ (Soweto honours her warrior sons, 1983:4). The 1987 coverage in *Paratus* gives more detail regarding the ingredients to the event. Some 400 soldiers were parading for two kilometres, accompanied by 16 vehicles (Ratels, Buffels and armoured cars), the Unit Band and standard bearers carrying the national flag and the flags of the SA Army, 21 Battalion and the SADF 75th anniversary flag. As the parade attracted the interest of residents, specific mention was also made of the interest among the children who attended (Van de Venter, 1987a:6). The description of the 1983 event placed a distinct focus on the enthusiastic (black) civilians, while the second description (1987 event) focused more on the actual military aspect of the parade. This makes it evident that the 1987 procession was a sizeable one, suggesting an increase in black participation in the SADF. Enthusiastic civilians actively participating in this

²⁷⁶ See also ‘A city’s top honour to a military unit’ (1983:6).

procession while they were absorbed by the ‘clockwork precision’ of marching to the brass band music, is an indication of the ability of music to draw people in. Positive reportage of civilian and military participation in a military parade in a township creates the impression that black South Africans participated in and supported the war effort. This is an indication of one of the strategies of the SADF to militarise black South Africans. Although the use of the military band was ceremonial and not in service in direct combat, it still reminded civilians of the situation in the country and the apparent need for the SADF as defender, and in this it was an intimation of distant combat on the border, yet also at home. The seriousness of the matter was played down with phraseology such as ‘relaxed, almost carnival atmosphere’. During the 1988 Freedom of Entry to Soweto celebration for the ‘true protectors’ [‘ware beskermers’], the first public presentation of the Soweto flag took place while the 33-member band, under the direction of Sergeant Major J.M. Sibanyoni, provided a ‘fanfare of music’ (Kleyn, 1988b:16-17). The 1989 Freedom of Entry to Soweto celebration ended with traditional dancing, choir singing, parachuting displays and other activities in the stadium (Mills, 1989a:31). It is significant that traditional dancing and choir singing were integrated with other military displays, thus enlisting forms of cultural expression in the general strategy of militarisation. Another first for 21 Battalion was the Freedom of Entry to an ‘exclusively black unit’ in Johannesburg in 1986, with ‘drums beating and colours flying’ (Pentopoulos, 1986:32). The singling out of the ‘exclusively black unit’ confirms the apartheid ideology of separate racial groups. Aspects of ethnology also emerged with the inclusion of traditional dancing at an event in Soweto, which may point to the idea of tribal Africa, and in this also the othering of African SADF members.

7.1.3.3 Military days and shows

21 Battalion’s contribution to shows included the first national show for Qwaqwa at Witsieshoek (Goeie rassebetrekkings is ons grootste wapen, 1978:9-11) and the Rand Show, at which the Band, together with 202 Battalion Kavango Choir, performed in the final part of the Military Tattoo (Van Wyk, 1988a:13). The title, ‘Goeie rassebetrekkings is ons grootste wapen’ [‘Good racial relations our biggest weapon’], confirms the importance that the SADF placed on black participation and approval as part of counterinsurgency strategy, where they tried to gain support from black South Africans. The Rand Show provided an opportunity for selling items containing the ‘Troopie’ trademark, while some of the items on the programme included

cadet band performances and a mock attack where five ‘terrorists’ were captured and ‘eliminated’ within a short timespan – a highlight for many (Van Wyk, 1988a:13). The 1988 Rand Show write-up in *Paratus* was accompanied by photographs of soldiers and civilians at, or on, the military hardware that was exhibited during the Show (see the photograph further below that shows a similar event). Businessmen who contributed to the permanent exhibition centre for military displays for the public were acknowledged during a special event at the Museum for Military History in Johannesburg. The 21 Battalion Choir and Rietfontein Commando Pipe Band performed, while members from 21 Battalion formed a Guard of Honour. Guests were entertained to a dinner ‘among the great war relics of the past world wars’, accompanied by a piano and violin performance. The evening did not pass without a dose of anti-Swapo propaganda (Oosthuysen, 1989:37-38). This is a typical example of militarisation involving the private business sector to create awareness of the military among the public and how music and anti-Swapo propaganda provided a soundtrack to these events. The perfect military ambience, targeting businesspeople, was created as the event, which took place in a military museum where the guests were surrounded by military relics from past decades (enhancing military tradition), contrasted with the soothing sound of music. The photograph below shows boys and girls of various races ‘investigating’ an Eland armoured car at the 1989 Rand Show. The use of a photograph of children of various races who played together or alongside each other on the military hardware may have been a possible way of advocating the idea of the SADF being an inherently integrated group.²⁷⁷

[Photograph on next page]

²⁷⁷ See, for example, the reference to South African ‘men of all races’ that fought ‘shoulder to shoulder’ throughout history and the continuation of this tradition by 21 Battalion (This is how 21 (Black) Battalion prepared for border duty, 1978:4).



Figure 36: Children on an Eland armoured car at the Rand Show (Oosthuysen, 1989:38).



Figure 37: The 21 Battalion Band at the show, Witsieshoek (Goeie rassebetrekkinge is ons grootste wapen, 1978:11).

The Republic Day celebration in Caprivi, which drew families of soldiers and civilians from the area (Mpacha and Katima Mulilo), included a parade where the 21 Battalion Band also participated, and an armoured car and aircraft display. The day ended with a cocktail function ‘for participants, recipients and dignitaries’ (Du Toit, 1984:28). Other celebrations included the SADF 75th anniversary celebration in 1987, where they performed together with the SA Medical Services Band, as well as the band of the Potchefstroom High School for Boys (Van

de Venter, 1987b:7). The performances of the 21 Battalion Band with the SA Medical Services Band and the band of the (white) Potchefstroom High School for Boys, created the impression of inter-racial collaboration, yet within the constraints of apartheid, with separate amenities according to race.

7.1.3.4 Border

The reference to 21 Battalion continuing a tradition of South African ‘men of all races’ fighting ‘shoulder to shoulder’ throughout history (This is how 21 (Black) Battalion prepared for border duty, 1978:4), indicating 21 Battalion’s border duty since 1978, included references to the ‘preservation of civilization’. The idea of the ‘preservation of civilization’ in this case is a contradiction, as ‘non-whites’ were at times denigrated by invoking images of them as uncivilized. Again in 1978, the band made its first appearance in the Operational Area, receiving a commendation certificate from the commanding officer of sector 70 for their achievements (John, 1985:54).²⁷⁸ In preparation for their border duty, they received training, where, before their departure, they were handed parcels from the Southern Cross Fund, which was ‘solidly behind every soldier of South Africa, regardless of race or culture’ (This is how 21 (Black) Battalion prepared for border duty, 1978:4-7).²⁷⁹ Word choice such as ‘Every soldier [...] regardless of race or culture’ that appeared to speak to the individual (but was aimed at the collective) was specifically employed to draw ‘non-white’ members into the SADF, where they were made to believe that everyone was equal. In this vein, one could also look at the photograph below that evokes similar principles of mixed races fighting alongside each other on an equal basis. As segregation was enforced in legislature, the reality on the home front, however, was very different.

²⁷⁸ The December 1979 issue of *Paratus* reported a visit by ‘impressed’ ministers from the homelands and so securing a positive outcome for possible future conscription (Tuisland-Ministers besoek die Operasionele Gebied, 1979:42-43).

²⁷⁹ See also ‘Suiderkruisfonds gee pakkette aan 21 Bataljon’ [‘Southern Cross Fund gives parcels to 21 Battalion’] (1979:9).

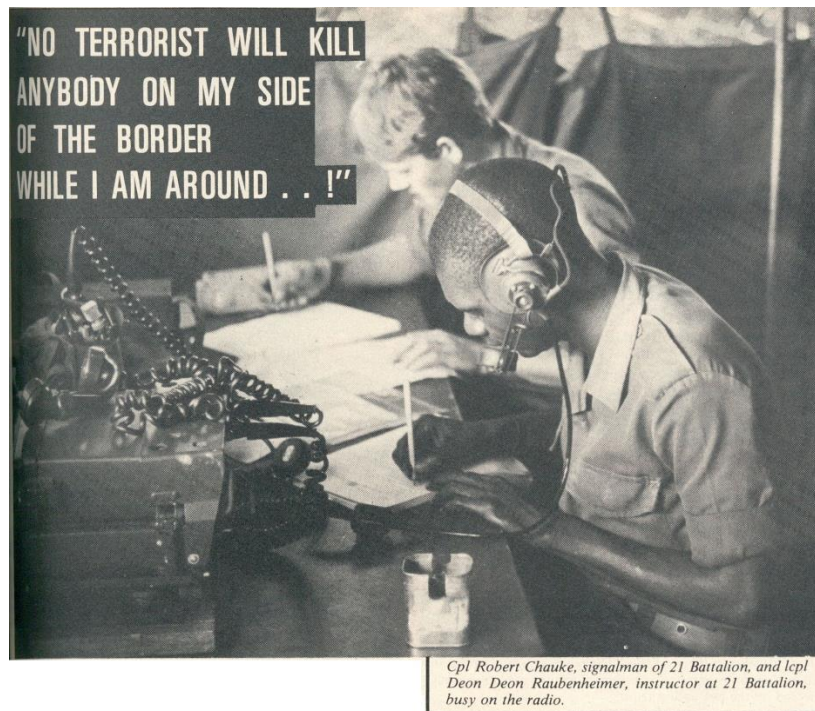


Figure 38: 'This is how 21 (Black) Battalion prepared for border duty' (1978:5).

The introduction to an article from their time on the border referred to the strong voices singing traditional Zulu songs, later giving a visual description of young black men in traditional gear, performing a play, of which the quality compared well with similar professional productions, but within easy reach of their R-1 rifles. The performance was interrupted, and they swiftly exchanged their traditional costumes for combat gear, when the enemy attacked them in March that year (21 Bataljon, 1978:8). This encounter was confirmed in more detail by Armscor's 'house journal for black personnel' *PULA!* editor David Masango (1978:9). Upon their return from the Operational Area the 'seëvierende' ['victorious'] 21 Battalion (as the title suggests) sang a victory song, 'SWAPO ya balekha!' ['Swapo fled!'] (Seëvierende 21 Bataljon terug, 1978:20-21). Yet again, this is indicative of SADF propaganda of black South Africans supporting the SADF in fighting a common enemy. Descriptions of leisure activities on the border at times appeared to give an impression of having sufficient means, both in terms of equipment and human resources. The adjective 'professional' was attached to elevate the performance and circumstances, thus elevating their status of being on the border. The successes of the Battalion likely had an effect on later conscriptions to the Battalion, judging by an increase in prospective black conscripts (More candidates than instructors can handle, 1978:21) enthusiastic about border duty (Our black soldiers are keen to go to the border,

1982:31). Courses included military content, physical fitness and familiarization with the Army and Western life-styles (More candidates than instructors can handle, 1978:21), with training similar to the ‘rest of the SADF’, presented by a hierarchy of white officers and black platoon sergeants and section leaders (Our black soldiers are keen to go to the border, 1982:31). Inferring from the title, ‘Our black soldiers are keen to go to the border’, militarisation efforts in *Paratus* created the perception that black South Africans were keen supporters of the SADF and the Border War. ‘Western life-styles’ ties in with ‘preserving civilization’ as an apartheid construct. Even though there was a perceived equality, a turn of phrase such as ‘same as for the rest of the SADF’ in terms of training reveals an awareness of differentiation.

7.1.4 111 Battalion

The Swazi 111 Battalion was established in the 1970s, residing in a base at the High Agricultural School, Amsterdam, South Africa. An initial number of 14 members reported for duty in 1978, followed by a second group for orientation at Lenz. In 1981 the first infantrymen were deployed operationally. The base also contained facilities for adult education, pre-empting potential criticism of the SADF for providing education of a lesser standard (Kleyn, 1988a:33). Parents were afforded opportunities to see soldiers demonstrating their skills (which included mock terrorist attacks) during visits (Kleyn, 1988a:32) and at parents’ days (111 Battalion Parents’ Day, 1981:40).



Figure 39: The 111 Battalion Band (Kleyn, 1988a:33).

The 111 Battalion Band, consisting of 22 members of professional musicians (passing Unisa examinations as a prerequisite), was formed in 1987. As with most bands, the 111 Battalion Band performed at various parades in the Eastern Transvaal Command (Kleyn, 1988a:33).

7.1.5 113 Battalion

Letaba Ranch on the banks of the Letaba River was the base of the Shangaan 113 Battalion, established on 1 April 1979 (later the army for an independent Gazankulu). The Letaba base also hosted its own adult education facilities. Although lessons were presented in the two official national languages of the time (Afrikaans and English), as well as in black languages, Xitsonga classes were also offered for white soldiers in key positions.²⁸⁰ Further amenities included sports facilities, a recreation hall for concerts by the unit's concert group, band and choir, and a church containing a pulpit of stone that testified of the 'outstanding expertise of the Shangaan' (Jersich, 1986a:21-22). Soldiers from the regional units received the same training as National Servicemen, which included orientation, basic training, and urban and rural counterinsurgency training. As it was assumed that black soldiers were good at tracking and better in the bush than white soldiers, they were mostly utilised in those kinds of environments (Kleyn, 1989a:4). The 22-member 113 Battalion Band performed at shows and medal parades, and most likely various other functions because of their popularity, since there seemed to be a big demand for them ('oral in aanvraag') and since their performances drew high acclaim (Kleyn, 1989a:5). The popularity of the 113 Battalion Band is an indication of a high standard, enabling them to perform at shows and public events. Titles and slogans such as 'Die vrede gedy waar natuur sy gang gaan' ['Peace prospers where nature takes its course], 'Servamus - Ons Dien' ['Servamus - We serve'] (Kleyn, 1989a:4), and references to the bush-like environment with rich animal life where Shangaans received their training to protect Gazankulu and its residents (1989a:4) left the impression of the bush as a natural, untamed (uncivilized) environment where Shangaan people would naturally have felt at home. The

²⁸⁰ See also Steyn (1988a:31).

notion of tranquility may also tie in with the idea of the SADF as protector and preserver of peace.



Figure 40: 113 Battalion Band (Kleyn, 1989a:5).

7.1.6 115 Battalion

On 30 August 1985 a base was opened for the Ndebele 115 Battalion at Shenandoah in KwaNdebele for the troops (who also received training at 21 Battalion) who were to be deployed after the state gained its independence.²⁸¹ The event included a soccer match, a parade, skydivers and a drill competition, a mortar display and a mock attack, and prizes for the best sportsman, best student during basics and best shottist (Delmar, 1985:4-5). Although no specific mention is made of music performances by 115 Battalion, the photograph below gives an indication of a performance at an event held at Lenz (Kleyn, 1989c:13).

²⁸¹ See 'Locally trained troops on parade' (1989:35) for the 5th anniversary of 115 Battalion.



Figure 41: 115 Battalion of KwaNdebele (Kleyn, 1989c:13).

7.1.7 116 Battalion

The ‘youngest and only’ multi-ethnic 116 Battalion (Messina), inaugurated in January 1984, hosted the majority of Northern Sotho conscripts. As with several black units, the base included facilities for adult school education (Kleyn, 1989b:30-31). The title, ‘Skouer aan skouer dien hulle die SAW’ [‘Shoulder to shoulder they serve the SADF’], alludes to the ‘multi-ethnicity’ of the group functioning well in the defence of South Africa.²⁸² The reference to multi-ethnicity in conjunction with the smooth functioning of the Battalion seemed to contradict the South African social reality of oppression and ethnic differences. Reference to the band (depicted in

²⁸² On occasions, as can be seen with references in this section to ‘non-white participation’, *Paratus* wrote about ‘multi-ethnicity’. The October 1987 issue of *Paratus* also featured an article, ‘SADF crosses the language barrier’, in which the SADF aimed to illustrate the ‘multinational composition of the SADF’ (De Jager, 1987:12-13, 33).

the photograph below) indicates that all members passed the Unisa Grade 1 examination. Highlighting this as an achievement could point to the generalisation of black members lacking ability and that obtaining Grade 1 was a great achievement.



Figure 42: 116 Battalion band (Kleyn, 1989b:31).

7.1.8 121 Battalion

121 Battalion (established in April 1979) underwent orientation at Lenz, after which they were transferred to Jozini and later to their new base at Dukuduku State Forest (from 1981). Prospective members between the ages of 18 and 30 were recruited through word of mouth and various media, including the radio, SABC's TV2 and local newspapers. Preceding basic training, the orientation phase (drilling, hygiene, buddy aid and military law) took four weeks. Psychiatrists who assisted with the selection were also present for a period of a week. The facilities at Engweni ('Place of the leopard') included a primary school for children of staff and an adult education centre (Ash, 1986a:10-12). Recreation for the officers and troops included

a canteen, TV and video programmes, swimming pool and various sports activities.²⁸³ A Ladies' Association that met with the ladies from Merula Park (housing estate for black PF members and their families) took on activities such as welcoming returning troops from the border, decorating the mess halls for the troops, and knitting and Bible study classes. Sharing activities amongst the women of different race groups is reminiscent of the principle of male soldiers of various races executing their tasks alongside one another; yet on home front there was inequality between different races. The Battalion's unofficial colour was in the form of a leopard skin ('an animal [...] traditionally respected by the Zulu people for its hunting skills and courage') (1986a:13). In 1989 they became the first black unit to be presented with the National Colours (also recognising their duties in the 'unrest-related areas' in Natal), with 'His Majesty King Zwelitini' present (Khoza, 1989:35). The over-emphasis on perceived Zulu traits depicting a 'spirit of the Zulu nation', military advancement 'equal to the best' and military strategy developed under Shaka '[still being] studied in military academies worldwide' (Ash, 1986a:10) points to an apartheid construct of Zulu identity. Further traits were summarised by Ash (1986a:10) in the following quote (again with an over-emphasis on things Zulu):

The platoon came jogging down the track [...] at an untiring, faultless pace. The clank-clank of their 'dixies' as they moved along added rhythm to their lusty singing, the Zulu words swelling in the hot, still Zululand air (Ash, 1986a:10).²⁸⁴

From this quote one can also deduce that the singing of the Battalion made an impression, that they displayed certain musical characteristics such as rhythm, and that music played a role in certain everyday actions. In this respect, the singing and the sound of their 'dixies' provided an additional accompaniment to the sounds of their drilling on the way to the dining hall.

²⁸³ In 1981, for example, the Southern Cross Fund donated R2 000 worth of sports equipment to the Unit (The Southern Cross Fund gave plenty to smile about, 1981:49).

²⁸⁴ See also Carton, Laband and Sithole (2008) about Zulu identity.

7.1.8.1 121 Battalion Band formation and history

Starting as a trumpet band, the 121 Battalion Band (22 members of differing musical expertise levels) was formed in 1983 and became a full brass band, which received their instruments from SAS Jalsena. Members of 121 Battalion, as found with other SADF bands, also had the opportunity to enrol for Unisa examinations. The band, which was under the direction of Lieutenant S.W. King, included a member that performed with the Natal Performing Arts Council (NAPAC) Symphony Orchestra. Performances included shows (Zululand Show at Eshowe, in the presence of ‘His Royal Highness King Zwelitini’), and at weddings and funerals (Ash, 1986a:12). The combination of military musicians performing in a civilian orchestra and the presence of military bands at public shows are illustrations of the extent to which the military was pervasive in the civilian realm.

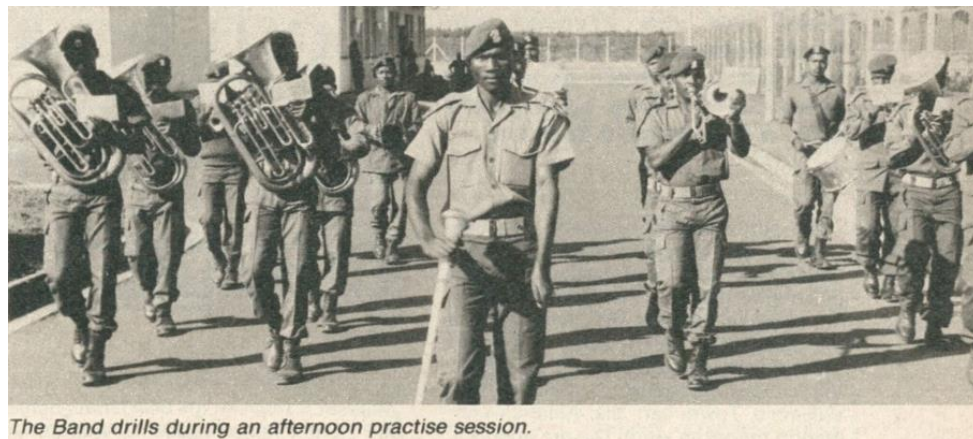


Figure 43: The 121 Battalion Band (Ash, 1986a:13).

7.1.8.2 Parades and events

A performance of Zulu soldiers from 121 Battalion at an award ceremony near Mtubatuba, attended by parents, some of whom ‘had travelled hundreds of kilometres’, featured a silent drill display by B Company, and C Company’s display to drum beats, followed by a traditional dance performance, and a mock attack. The absence of those who had lost their lives on the border was also noted at the day of ‘awards, displays and festivity’, which ended with a ‘braai’ (Drums beat as Zulu soldiers perform, 1983:58). The title, ‘Drums beat as Zulu soldiers perform’ (1983:58) conjures up images of tribalistic Zulu people and specifically the Zulu warrior, as apartheid constructs. A certain perception of the rhythm of warfare is evident here

by the combination of soldiers and drums in the title. The combination of the traditional dance performance, the mock attack and the festivities evokes the carnivalesque. Further events included their 'immaculate' drill display to the theme tune from *Shaka Zulu* at the 1987 Durban Tattoo and the Band's accompanying standard bearers at the SADF's 75th anniversary celebration the following year (Martins, 1988:6). Using the music from *Shaka Zulu* reminds listeners of the apartheid constructs of Zulu identity.

7.1.9 201 Battalion

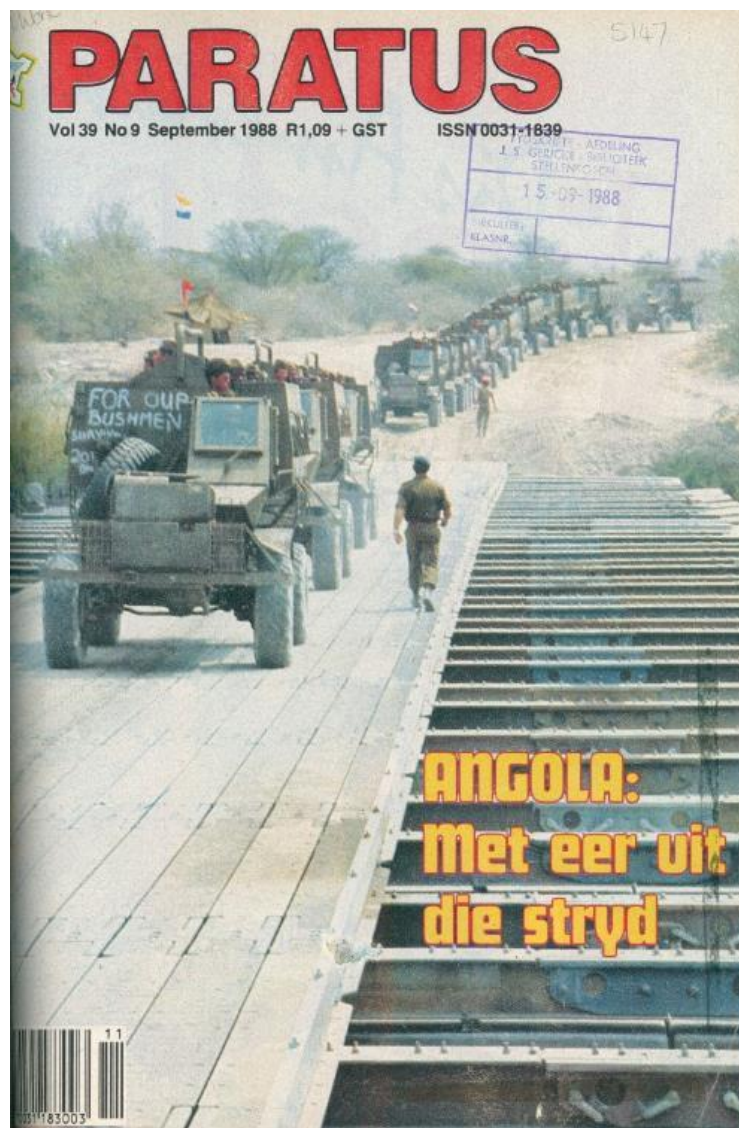


Figure 44: 'For our Bushmen' (*Paratus*, September 1988).

201 Battalion at Omega (initially Alpha) in the western Caprivi, established in 1974 (Cawthra, 1986:199),²⁸⁵ originated from employing a group classified as ‘Bushmen’ as trackers (Cawthra, 1986:199, 205).²⁸⁶ Articles in *Paratus* that included visits by civilians and high-ranking officials to Omega, described this group as ‘small yellow-brown people’ (Die eerste volbloed ‘operasionele’ troue, 1981:65), also with a particular emphasis on the word ‘Bushman’ for a small ‘Bushman’ girl Mara at the ‘beautiful Bushman base’, in the ‘Bushman’ residential area where ‘Bushman’ infants with ‘slit eyes’ and broad smiles greeted the visitors, who also attended information sessions about the ‘Bushmen’ and their traditions (Tannie Ristie kom haar belofte na, 1981:87).²⁸⁷ These descriptions as ways to highlight the physical traits of ‘Bushman’ people ties in with an ethnological approach to ideology and the colonial notion of ‘othering’, as in this instance applied to members of 201 Battalion. Under the façade of providing caring treatment, the statements of the white women treating a ‘Bushman baby’ with love and ‘coarse peppercorns’ on the baby’s head, or the baby with an ‘old person’s smile’ (Muller, 1981:31), come across as patronising.

Limited evidence of music activities at Omega included ‘Bushman’ children singing ‘Die Stem van Suid-Afrika’ and ‘Die lappop’ [‘The ragdoll’] (Tannie Ristie kom haar belofte na, 1981:87) and a ‘Bushman’ choir singing at the wedding celebration of Lieutenant and Mrs Ben Wolff, while some of the ‘Bushmen’ stood at the windows to see the ceremony (Die eerste volbloed ‘operasionele’ troue, 1981:65). A photograph of a member of 201 Battalion playing a drum featured on the cover of the study by Uys (1993), which suggests that music played a role in the Battalion. Still under the name Alpha, there is evidence of a ‘War song of the Alphans’, composed by Commandant Delville Linford. The general idea of the song included the topic of bravery (‘fear not a man or a beast’) and the idea of outdoor action irrespective of the time

²⁸⁵ 201 Battalion was formerly known as 31 Battalion (Badcock, 1981:99).

²⁸⁶ In *Paratus*, generally, a distinction was made between Bushmen and Coloured soldiers. However, Van der Ross (1979:38-44) points out that these groups were more diversified and that they were not single groups. See Van der Ross (1979:43) on the various ‘Bushmen’ groupings. See also Hennop (1988a:30), who gives a short description of the 14th anniversary celebration of 201 Battalion, where they received Unit Colours.

²⁸⁷ See, for example, ‘Staatspresident besoek die Operasionele Gebied’ [‘State President visits Operational Area’] (1981:6-7), Muller (1981:30-31), ‘Tannie Ristie kom haar belofte na’ [‘Aunt Ristie keeps her promise’] (1981:87), Ter Haar (1985:47) and Steyn (1987a:35).

of the day ('sleep 'neath the stars and we march by the moon and the sun') (Uys, 1993:18-19).²⁸⁸

7.1.10 SAS Jalsena

Salisbury Island in Durban served as the training ground for Indian South African men doing their Voluntary National Service (VNS) (At SAS Jalsena, 1984:30; Aarons, 1984:34). The unit, named Jalsina (Hindi 'Jal' for 'water' and 'Sena' for 'army' - also meaning 'Sea Warrior') (At SAS Jalsena, 1984:30) was established in 1975 (Cawthra, 1986:68). The use of an Indian name for the unit in itself is an apartheid construct. This group was established in 1974 because of 'an urgent need for a Defence unit manned by South African Indians', as requested by the South African Indian Council and was initially known as the South African Indian Corps Training Battalion (SADF's participation in the Durban Military Tattoo, 1979:18; Volunteers roll up at SAS Jalsena, 1980:48). Accompanying these men were also Permanent Force staff active in technical training at Sastri College, Durban and SAS Jalsena Band members (Aarons, 1984:34; At SAS Jalsena, 1984:30). Training was aimed at providing leadership and facilitating development of the individual so that the Indian community in South Africa could notice the 'useful place for them in the SADF [to] contribute towards the defence of the RSA' (Aarons, 1984:34-35). Together with a remark by Aarons (1984:34) about the name Salisbury Island conjuring up images of an exotic island, statements about a 'useful place' create the impression that Indians were foreigners or exotic beings defending the country from the communist enemy. Reminiscent of ethnology ('volkekunde'), this exoticism was also illustrated by an exhibition held by Springfield College of Education in 1981 and focused on the cultural, social, economic and historical aspects of Indians in Natal and South Africa, which featured their development 'from the day they arrived', implying that they are not local. The occasion featured SAS Jalsena as the Guard of Honour, while the Band performed a retreat ceremony, with the salute taken by the Director of Indian Education ('Indiana 81' exhibition, 1981:78).

²⁸⁸ See Uys (1993:7-8) for a short biography of Commandant. Delville Linford.

Starting with 32 recruits (Volunteers roll up at SAS Jalsena, 1980:48; Aarons, 1984:34), the ranks grew to 153 recruits who, by 1980, reported for two years of National Service. Entry required them to be medically fit, to possess a Standard VII certificate (minimum)²⁸⁹ and to be older than 16 years of age.²⁹⁰ Recruits under 21 required parental consent (Volunteers roll up at SAS Jalsena, 1980:48; Aarons, 1984:35). The deceptive headline of ‘Volunteers roll up at SAS Jalsena’ (1980:48), suggests large-scale aspiration for an honourable place in the SADF.²⁹¹ Training included initial and further specialised training, leading to employment after a two-year period with the option to terminate service within this period with three months’ notice (Rourke & McMillan, 1986:18). Prospective Permanent Force members were able to return to SAS Jalsena for selection (At SAS Jalsena, 1984:30-31), while Voluntary National Servicemen with potential were selected as Officer Candidates for further training at the SA Naval College at Gordon’s Bay in the Cape. The successful completion of the Midshipmen’s Course led to appointments on ships or on shore. Indians were also in a position to obtain university degrees at the Military Academy at Saldanha (Aarons, 1984:36).²⁹² Members (volunteers) received training as Marines for the Harbour Protection Units, and part of the training included a ‘tour of duty on the Border’ (At SAS Jalsena, 1984:31). Basic training included the general military training, seamanship, administration and personal hygiene,²⁹³ with the addition of a specialised programme that included nuclear, chemical and biological warfare, fire-fighting, and Afrikaans as a special subject (Volunteers roll up at SAS Jalsena, 1980:48) for future promotion (Aarons, 1984:36).²⁹⁴ The occasional emphasis on Afrikaans with ‘non-white’ groups suggests that it

²⁸⁹ Aarons (1984:35) indicates the minimum requirement as at least Standard VI.

²⁹⁰ The January 1983 issue of *Paratus* reported that Indian headmasters from 39 high schools visited the SAS Jalsena premises to promote SAS Jalsena in schools as a possible career choice. Yet, younger candidates (16 years as youngest age group) were encouraged to first ‘try [and] improve themselves’ (Men from SAS Jalsena entertain headmasters, 1983:58). Most of the SAS Jalsena members enrolled at Std 8 level.

²⁹¹ See also titles headlines such as ‘Indians proud to contribute to SA’s defence’ (1978:8).

²⁹² See also ‘At SAS Jalsena’ (1984:31).

²⁹³ See, for example, ‘SAS Jalsena wen die Bayers-toekenning’ [‘SAS Jalsena wins Bayers award’] (1985:50), when they received an award for maintaining a high standard of health and neatness. The explicit mention of personal hygiene also suggested that Indians were dirty. The Bayers award again indicates the private sector involvement in the military.

²⁹⁴ See also ‘Indian trainees learn Afrikaans’ (1981:50). See further Warwick (2009:287-404) on the dynamics between English and Afrikaans SADF members.

was a tool to superficially create a sense of belonging. Permanent Force training included various branches such as officers, chefs, stewards, stores, technical and Seaman. A wide range of skills for seamen also included the Navy Band (Aarons, 1984:36). Trainees were also encouraged to become members of the brass band, which practised late afternoons from 16h30 in a ‘relaxed atmosphere’ (Indian volunteers fit easily into Navy’s way of life, 1979:4). Recreational facilities for the members of SAS Jalsena included a canteen with a bar, snooker table, TV lounge (Indian volunteers fit easily into Navy’s way of life, 1979:4) and a cinema hall which doubled as a venue for a fashion parade (Lovely models at SAS Jalsena, 1987:20).²⁹⁵ Although no indication was given of the race of the audience, it is interesting to note the participation of white models on an Indian military ship at the height of apartheid. Regardless of the state promotion of Christian nationalism, provision was also made for various other religions (Christian, Hindu and Muslim) accommodating visits from religious leaders and specific diets for the respective groups (Aarons, 1984:36).

7.1.10.1 SAS Jalsena Band formation and history

It’s one thing to hand a man a rifle and tell him to shoot. It is quite another to hand the same man a bugle and tell him to play (WO1 J.F. Spencer in ‘SAS Jalsena’s Bandmaster’, 1982:54).

The comment by SAS Jalsena’s Bandmaster, Jimmy Spencer, distinguishes between war and music, suggesting that anyone can go to war, while the same does not apply for making music. He proposes a different kind of discipline for each instance (war and music), in which case the skill for music is rated higher than that of war. This can also suggest that the Indian musicians of SAS Jalsena were viewed in a ‘higher’ place than most soldiers, even white soldiers, although the racial hierarchy would have determined otherwise. It could further suggest a comment in defence of music, an activity not necessarily associated with the typical warring

²⁹⁵ The cinema hall was also utilised for a fashion parade (sponsored by Hyperama), showcasing the creations of ‘critically-acclaimed fashion-designer Cronjé Lemmer’. The models from Pretoria specifically selected for the event were accompanied by ‘dashing young naval officers from Naval Base Durban, in full Mess Dress’ (Lovely models at SAS Jalsena, 1987:20).

soldier. In the light of this point, it is noticeable that a considerable amount of reportage in *Paratus* pertaining to the SA Cape Corps and SAS Jalsena refers to their musical skill.

Starting as a bugle band in 1975, the SAS Jalsena Band developed to become a full band of 25 members in 1984 under the tutelage of Bandmaster, Warrant Officer Jimmy F. Spencer (At SAS Jalsena, 1984:30-31). Spencer, who joined the SADF in 1936, played the euphonium for the Army Band for nearly 20 years, after which he established the Transkei Defence Force band (SAS Jalsena's Bandmaster, 1982:55).²⁹⁶ In August 1979 he joined SAS Jalsena as Bandmaster who then had 11 band members (Rourke, 1986:58) and in 1982 was also coaching the SA Police Band (SAS Jalsena's Bandmaster, 1982:55). In 1980 he brought the services of PO D.S. Roopanand to the band (Rourke, 1986:59). After only four months, having started from scratch with many hours of practice, the coaching (and individual homework) of 38 members led to their first, yet well-received, public performance of a demanding programme (SAS Jalsena's Bandmaster, 1982:54). This showcases the work and dedication required from conductors and band members alike. Whilst performing to large audiences (some 40 000 people in 1981), they were also given the 'honour' of performing at the Republic Festival celebration (SAS Jalsena's Bandmaster, 1982:55).²⁹⁷ Clearly, this 'honour' of performing at Republic Festivals was a propaganda method to display Indian citizens in the SADF to the public.

Although various racial groups in the SADF participated in these festivals, it was not never a proportional reflection of South African demography. The participation of 'non-whites' in an event that celebrated Western history is an anomaly stemming from the apartheid policies of the South African government of the day. From the literature it appears that SAS Jalsena was a small unit from which only a few band members could be chosen.²⁹⁸ In 1981 they constituted the smallest Permanent Force band in the country with a total of 13 members (SAS Jalsena's band enthrals schools, 1981:61), while in 1986 30 members (24 Permanent Force members and

²⁹⁶ Rourke (1986:58) refers to Spencer's 25 years with the SA Army Band.

²⁹⁷ The July 1971 issue of *Sechaba* contained a notice indicating African students boycotting the 1971 Republic Festival (African students boycott festival, 1971:22). See also 'What are we celebrating?' (1971:20).

²⁹⁸ 141 members completed their basic training in 1985 (SAS Jalsena flink en blink op parade, 1985:24-25).

6 Indian Service Volunteers) entered for music examinations (Rourke, 1986:59).²⁹⁹ Recruits joined SAS Jalsena for the ‘adventure’, for ‘security’, for being in the band itself and for contributing towards the defence of South Africa (Volunteers roll up at SAS Jalsena, 1980:48).³⁰⁰ The reasons for joining SAS Jalsena, displayed as a propaganda messages in *Paratus*, suggest that the SADF was an adventurous yet secure place (security also in terms of provisions) against the perceived looming danger. A comment about band members who were ‘volunteers from fields ranging from truck-drivers to garbage collectors’ (SAS Jalsena’s Bandmaster, 1982:54) is also an indication of the socio-economic place Indian South Africans occupied as citizens of the country, predominantly in the lower class.

7.1.10.2 Performances

A variety of performances, whether formal, informal or official, included military parades, church services, military tattoos (At SAS Jalsena, 1984:30-31), the Brigadier’s birthday party and prestige concerts (Rourke, 1986:59). A combination of Permanent Force members and Voluntary National Servicemen, the ‘well-known’ Brass Band ‘in the Natal area’ toured widely in South Africa and played at various SADF, public and community functions, where they were ‘in great demand’ (Aarons, 1984:37). The Band also travelled from Durban to perform at the Freedom of the City parades for the 75th anniversary celebrations of the SADF in the Eastern Cape (Navy celebrates SADF 75 in PE and East London, 1987:10-11). They performed at nearly 200 functions in 1985 alone (Rourke, 1986:59). Specific events included the Transkei Independence celebrations (‘WO1 Spencer was the only white member on parade’), the Rand Show’s Transkei Pavilion, the Republic Festival celebrations, parks in Durban (weekends) and the World Council of Dentists Conference in 1982 (SAS Jalsena’s Bandmaster, 1982:54-55). The repertoire of performances noted in *Paratus* included ‘Mancini to the classics’ (SAS Jalsena’s Bandmaster, 1982:55), ‘Anchors aweigh’, ‘The thunderer’, ‘The voice of the guns’, Beatles songs, music by Sousa (SAS Jalsena’s band enthrals schools, 1981:61), ‘The sting’ and other well known works (At SAS Jalsena, 1984:30-31). In an attempt to create an interest

²⁹⁹ In ‘At SAS Jalsena’ (1984:30-31) mention is made of the band musicians completing the Royal Schools Music Examinations.

³⁰⁰ See also ‘This is why volunteers want to join the Navy’ (1981:34).

amongst Indian school learners in and to recruit to the Navy, a tour to high schools around Durban, under the direction of Warrant Officer Spencer, spanned 26 performances, reaching more than 22 000 learners and covering approximately 1 000 km. The success of the tour was indicated by the request for repeat performances and by certain schools aiming to start their own bands (SAS Jalsena's band enthral schools, 1981:61). Members of the Indian ex-servicemen's Legion's tour to the Durban Naval Base in 1987 were given the opportunity to witness various military training aspects, as well as a 'short but rousing recital' by the SAS Jalsena band (Ash, 1987:49). The photograph below depicts the SAS Jalsena Band dressed in uniform, marching down the Main Street in East London. The sounds and lively rhythm of the marching brass band filling the streets, would have created a carnival type atmosphere, drawing in spectators of various races (in the background) lining the streets.



Figure 45: The SAS Jalsena Band under the direction of bandmaster CPO D.S. Roopchand (Navy celebrates SADF 75, 1987:10).

7.1.10.3 Parades

A primary responsibility for the band included performances at parades of the various divisions of the SADF (Rourke, 1986:59). The 10th anniversary celebration passing-out parade of SAS Jalsena's Voluntary National Servicemen in 1984 also highlighted the achievements of the Band. The passing-out parade included a Guard of Honour, Band display, a rear-guard rescue display (rescuing stranded troops), ending with a retreat ceremony. The parade further involved the reading of Scripture and the Preamble to the Constitution of South Africa, the inspection of

the trainees by Mrs Sybil Hotz (Mayor of Durban), the presentation of trophies and a sunset ceremony (SAS Jalsena on parade, 1984:8). The 1986 passing-out parade included awards for the neatest and smartest trainees, the hardest trier, the most effort towards parade training, and so forth (Prize winners at SAS Jalsena, 1986:32). The award categories such as ‘neatest’, ‘smartest’, ‘hardest trier’ and ‘most effort’ is a paradox, considering that the Band members were a sought after, accomplished and hardworking band. Yet the members were rated as second-class citizens that needed to try harder, be smarter, and improve personal hygiene and to become neater. This may also confirm the apartheid notion of classifying ‘non-white’ citizens as ambitionless and incapable.

7.1.11 South African Air Force Band

Consisting of 33 members (mostly South African), and under the direction of Warrant Officer Harry E.W. Philips, the South African Air Force Band was established on 21 October 1943 (SA Air Force Band, 1973:12; Imrie, 1976:57-58). Developing from the SA Permanent Force (SA Air Force Band, 1973:12; SA Army Band, 1973:10), the SA Air Force Band stood under the direction of the following personalities (SA Air Force Band, 1973:12): Warrant Officer Harry E.W. Philips (Director, retired), Captain Jaap E. Koops van’t Jagt and Commandant Willie C. de Beer (original member of the SAPF and Navy Bands and first South African-born musician to hold the post of Director of Music).

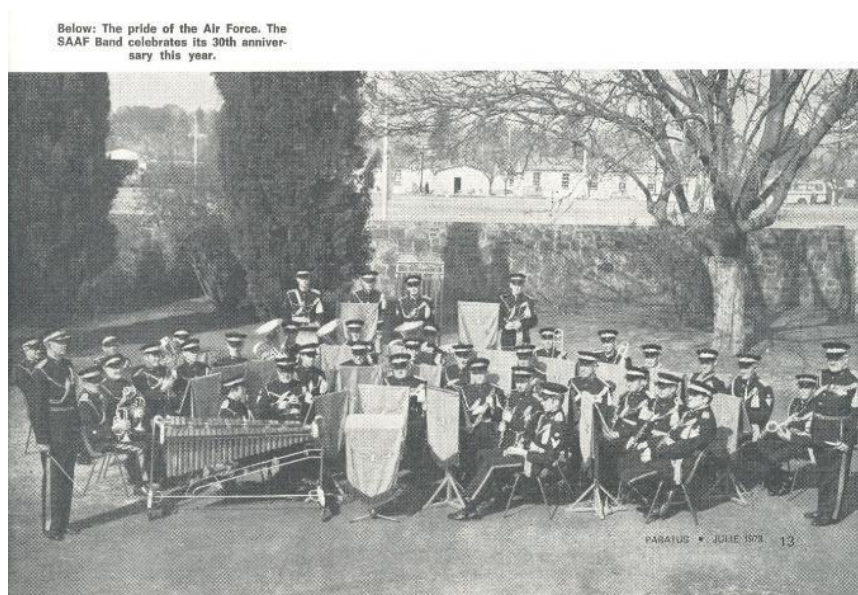


Figure 46: SA Air Force Band (1973:13).

As ‘ambassadors of the Defence Force’, the Band performed at festivals (for example, the Union and Republic Festivals),³⁰¹ broadcasts, commemorations, competitions, parades, award ceremonies, military tattoos,³⁰² concerts in various parts of the country and South West Africa,³⁰³ various state functions such as the opening of Parliament,³⁰⁴ Presidential inaugurations³⁰⁵ and funerals and as adjudicators at competitions (Belfast wins drill and band sections, (1971:40-41, 43).³⁰⁶ Evidence of music at a funeral includes playing a funeral march at Mr Basie van Rensburg’s funeral, with trumpeters of the Air force Band playing the ‘Last Post’ and ‘Reveille’, closing a ‘solemn and impressive ceremony’ (17 Gun salute for Mr Basie van Rensburg, 1970:26-29). Commemorations further included memorial services of former dignitaries, commemorations of events and places. A tribute to Field Marshal Smuts (formerly Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa) also included trumpeters from the SA Air Force Band playing the ‘Last Post’ and the ‘Reveille’, while the Pretoria Naval cadets formed the Guard of Honour and the Pretoria Boys’ High pipe band played the ‘Lament’ (Pressly, 1988:53). In 1969 the SAAF Band accompanied a choir of 60 000 members for the production of *Die wonder van Afrikaans*, held at the Voortrekker Monument amphitheatre (SA Air Force Band, 1973:12). The involvement of the SA Air Force Choir added a military presence to the event at the Voortrekker Monument (Nationalist symbol), once illustrating the extent of militarisation where the military had permeated the civilian sphere. The mere presence (even at a small scale) of a military band assisted in promoting civilian awareness of the military.

³⁰¹ See ‘SA Air Force Band’ (1973:12).

³⁰² Military tattoos included the Durban Military Tattoo in 1979 (SADF’s participation in the Durban Military Tattoo, 1979:18), 1982 (The Durban Tattoo: It’s going to be the best yet, 1982:42-43) 1983 (Durban Tattoo a feast of stars, 1983:62) 1986 (Ash, 1986b:40-41), and in 1987 at the Western Province Agricultural Society Show at the Showgrounds in Goodwood, in the Cape Town, organised by the Western Province Command (Cohen, 1987b:4). See the Section on Military Tattoos in this study for an extensive description of the tattoo.

³⁰³ These also included charity and pop concerts (Imrie, 1976:60).

³⁰⁴ See ‘SA Air Force Band’ (1973:12), ‘Opening of Parliament’ (1984:31) and (Opening of Parliament, 1985:30-31). The 1984 Opening of Parliament was referred to in *Paratus* as the ‘last Westminster-style parliament in South Africa’. The Air Force, Navy, Medical Services, SA Cape Corps and Cape Field Artillery Bands performed at this occasion (Opening of Parliament, 1985:30-31).

³⁰⁵ See, for example, Aarons and Le Chat (1984:4-6).

³⁰⁶ The SA Army Band also participated in adjudicating the band section at cadet competitions (Belfast wins drill and band sections, 1971:43).

A public relations exercise between the Air Force (Defence Force in general) and civilian society (parents and their sons) with a band performance of popular works at the Unisa auditorium (Good relations, 1980:50) serves as a prime example of music conveying a military message (conscription) in a civilian setting. In this, one can see how music served as a vehicle to soften the attitudes of parents towards the SADF by providing military musical entertainment in a civilian space where parents and soldiers attended the occasion. The idea of conscription as a rite of passage also surfaced here in the perception of conscripts growing to accept 'adult responsibilities'. This idea of a rite of passage therefore expressed the idea of an unavoidable stage along the course of one's life. The concept of musical harmony serves as expression of harmony amongst soldiers and harmony between the SADF and civilians. Further Unisa concerts included the Light Horse and SAAF Bands' combined three-hour public performance of Western art, film, popular and light music on 19 June 1985 (The Light Horse and SAAF bands combine, 1985:60) and a prestige concert held by the SA Air Force Gymnasium in 1989 (SAAF Gym holds prestige concert, 1989:25). The review of the combined Light Horse and SAAF bands provided a fair amount of detail with effusively descriptive language ('in touch with musical architecture', 'stunning intensity', 'romantic fervour', 'structural control and brilliance of sound', 'adding delicacy and breathtaking impact', 'full measure of sentiment', 'elegance and charm', 'added some sparkle', 'presented with panache', and 'a sensitive performance [glowing] under the baton of Cmdt. Griffiths'), while the caption of the photograph of the prestige concert mentioned 'soothing music under the baton of Major J.P. le Roux' and highlighted the attendees, who were people of note. The highly descriptive language for the Light Horse and SAAF concert brings to mind the idea of militaristic endeavours clothed in an aura of romanticism.

[Photograph on next page]



Figure 47: Air Force Gymnasium concert, UNISA Auditorium, Pretoria (SAAF Gym holds prestige concert, 1989:25).

Recording activities included the production of long-playing records in collaboration with the South African Academy for Science and the SABC for the 1960 Union Festival (*Call of South Africa*),³⁰⁷ followed by *Uit die blou* in 1962, which also featured the Air Force Gymnasium Choir (SA Air Force Band, 1973:12). They also appeared in *Bands for the benefit of society*, a world-wide BBC programme (SA Air Force Band, 1973:12). These recordings and broadcasts thus provided channels to create awareness of the SADF and the military amongst the South African population at large.

³⁰⁷ See, for example, South African Audio Archive (n.d.).

The SA Air Force Band featured in Freedom of Entry parades,³⁰⁸ medal parades,³⁰⁹ revue parades and the change of command. Although no mention was made of music, the photograph accompanying the Freedom of Entry to Verwoerdburg showed musicians following troops parading their Colours. The ceremony, attended by large crowds, concluded with a fly-past of four Impala jets (AFB Waterkloof marches through Verwoerdburg, 1984:20). For the change of command (General Geldenhuys taking over from General Viljoen), some 700 SADF members participated in the parade, together with the bands of the SA Army, Air Force, Medical Service, Light Horse Regiment, 21 Battalion and Northern Transvaal Command (Delmar, Kneen, Botes, & De Waal, 1985:4-6).

6 Squadron's relocation from Port Elizabeth to amalgamate with 8 Squadron in Bloemfontein was marked with a farewell parade in 1985 (viewed by 'hundreds of people of various racial groups'), whereby the SA Air Force Band led the Squadron from Russel Street, via the main street, past the Queen Victoria statue until they reached the Town Hall, where they waited silently for the standard bearer (Roodt, 1985a:6). The detail in which the route was described gives an indication of the ground that the parade covered, suggesting that many civilians were exposed to this event. The specific mention of various racial groups seems to suggest that these groups bought into the idea of the military and that they attached a certain degree of importance to this event as they immediately stopped ('leaving their shopping') to view the process. The SA Air Force Band specifically flew to Port Elizabeth for the inauguration of new Puma helicopters for 16 Squadron to 'entertain the crowd with their music and precise drilling' (Delmar, 1986b:10-11). Here is an example of the role of music in the display of military hardware and drilling, and how music serves as an (unacknowledged) accompaniment to a cycle of destruction through war. Crowds of spectators and marksmen on top of surrounding buildings for safety were present at the joint celebration of the SADF's 74th anniversary and

³⁰⁸ See, for example, 'AFB Waterkloof marches through Verwoerdburg' (1984:20), 'Vliegtuie en tamboere dreun in Verwoerdburg' (1987:20) where the Irene Commando and the SAAF Bands performed at the Air Force Base Waterkloof, Irene Commando's Freedom of Entry to Verwoerdburg, the Freedom of entry for 16 Squadron on their 20th anniversary (Pressly, 1989a:38-39), the Freedom of Entry to Hoopstad where the SA Air Force Band accompanied the 87 Helicopter Flying School (Steyn, 1988c:10).

³⁰⁹ See, for example, 'AFB Waterkloof marches through Verwoerdburg' (1984:20) and '101 Taakmag hou medaljeparade' ['101 Task Force has medal parade'] (1977:16-17), where the SA Air Force Band performed.

Johannesburg's centenary on Defence Force Day to see how the City of Johannesburg 'rolled out the red carpet' for the SA Defence Force (5 July 1986), while the SA Air Force and Medical Service Bands provided the music (Delmar, 1986c:42-43). Bands also had the opportunity to perform to the public on weekends ('regular monthly performances will be advertised in the press'), when the SA Air Force Band was to perform on a Sunday with future performances by the SA Army Band and the 21 Battalion Band (Bands return to Klapperkop, 1981:73). This indicates the frequency and times of performances of military bands to the public on weekends, thus bringing military traditions to civilians through the medium of entertainment. Noticeable in accounts of most of these kinds of events is the deliberate mention of the presence of large crowds or crowds interrupting their chores to participate in the event as viewers, suggesting the importance of the military in society.

The Band's repertoire included genres 'from classical to the most modern music, from march music to "pop", from Bach to "Boogie",' to accommodate varied public tastes (SA Air Force Band, 1973:12). Repertoire for the combined performance with the Light Horse Band included Western art music,³¹⁰ film music, popular and light music, specifically works of Johann Strauss, Ravel's 'Bolero', the 'Flight of the bumble bee', an arrangement of 'Virgin of Macarena', music from *Superman*, *Star Wars* and *Dallas*, and the music of Elvis Presley (The Light Horse and SAAF bands combine, 1985:60). The Band also, together with the Air Force Gymnasium Choir as part of the supporting programme, featured at the première of the film, *Doodkry is min*, where they accompanied singer Mimi Coertse (SA Air Force Band, 1973:12). This performance by famous Western opera singer Mimi Coertse, who has been lauded for her achievements on the international stage,³¹¹ together with the SA Air Force Band and Choir (attended by the masses across various sectors of South African society) took place in 1961, the year that South Africa became a republic).³¹² This context, which would have elicited a nationalist sense belonging and pride, created the ideal environment for militarisation. Personalities in the popular music recording field that hailed from the Band included Flippie

³¹⁰ See Watkins (2003) on identity construction through Western art music.

³¹¹ See, for example, SAHO (2019).

³¹² See Voortrekkermonument & Natuurreservaat/Nature Reserve (2016).

van Vuuren, Gene Petersen and Theo Erasmus (SA Air Force Band, 1973:12). Often when members completed their service in the band, they participated in full symphony and theatre orchestras (SA Air Force Band, 1973:12).

7.1.12 South African Army Band

Stationed at Voortrekkerhoogte, the South African Army Band (oldest SADF military band) was established in 1934 (Foote, 1968a:29; SA Army Band, 1973:10).³¹³ Initially functioning under the name South African Permanent Force Band, the band consisted of 23 musicians. Bandmaster Kealey, ‘the “Grandfather” of all the military bands in the SADF’ (SA Army Band, 1973:10; Imrie, 1976:53), first took on members from the Kaffrarian Rifles (14 musicians) and Comrades Military Bands at East London. In 1968 the band consisted of 45 members (Foote, 1968a:29), with the same membership number in 1973 (woodwind, brass and percussion) (SA Army Band, 1973:10). The South African Permanent Force Band, or later (from 20 November 1953), the SA Army Band (Foote, 1968a:29; SA Army Band, 1973:10), formed the basis for the South African Air Force and Navy Bands (SA Army Band, 1973:10). Personalities involved with the Band since its establishment, included Captain P.J. Lemmer (first commissioned officer in the band services), Director from 1937 to 1938, founder Warrant Officer W.E.H. (‘Pop’) Kealey (first Director of Music), who took over from Captain Lemmer in 1938 until his death in 1944, Captain E.A. Kealey (son of Warrant Officer W.E.H. Kealey) took over as Director from his father, until his death in 1955, Captain W. Albertyn became Director from 1955 to 1961, Commandant H.T. Hewartson took over from Albertyn from 1961 to 1969 and Major R.V. Goode, who was one of the founding members in 1934, took over in 1969. He received a *Pro Merito* Medal and a commendation from the Commandant General (SA Army Band, 1973:10).

³¹³ See also Imrie (1976:53-54).

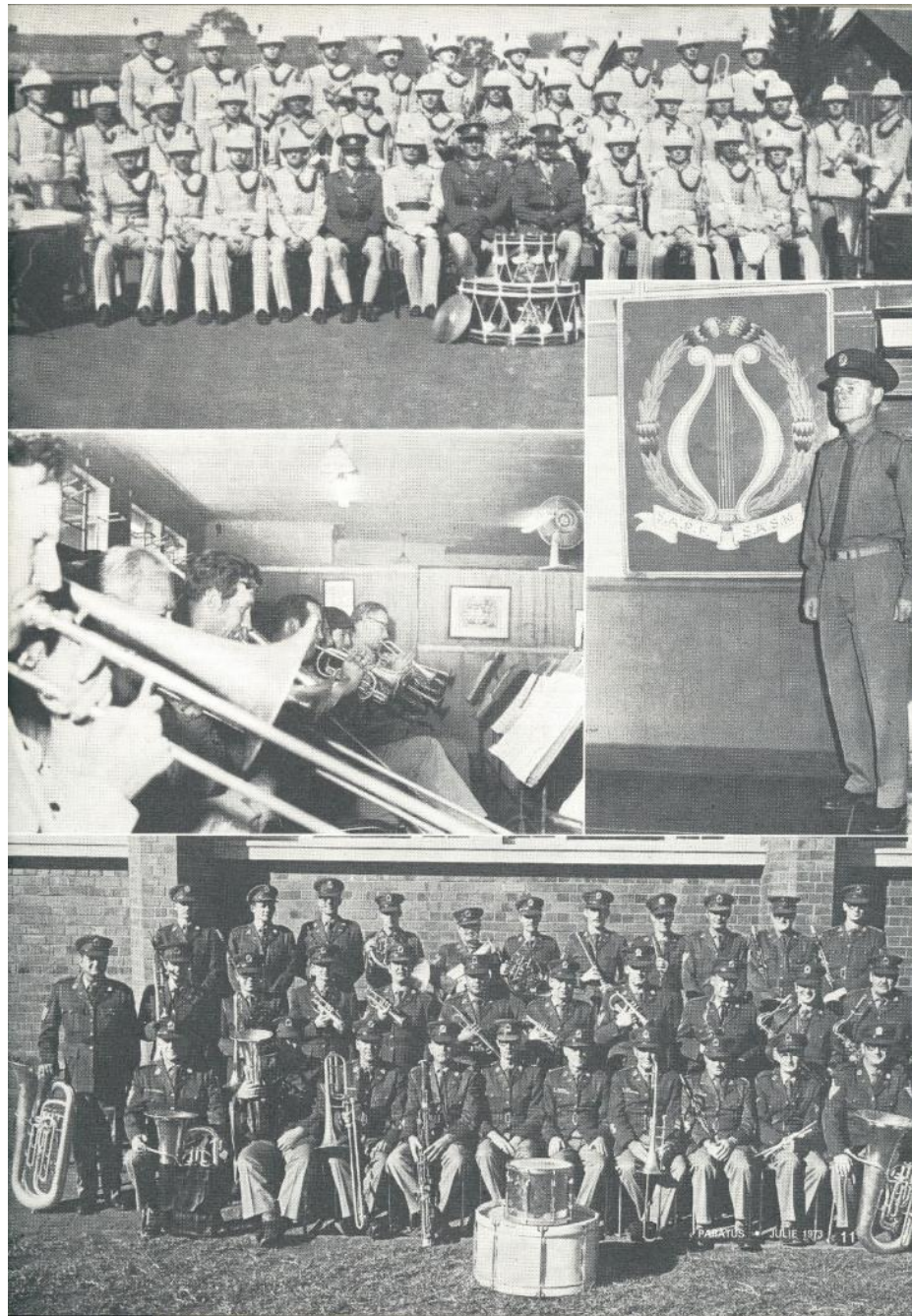


Figure 48: SA Army Band (1973:11).

A prerequisite for recruitment into the band included a test by the Director. Band members were also required to undergo general military training because of their priorities as soldiers, and after their Service they were to join a local Citizen Force (CF) band to advance musically (SA Army Band, 1973:10, 64). Working on their extensive repertoire of ‘serious and light music’, they rehearsed daily from 08:00-12:45, while instructing Citizen Force members in the

afternoons (1973:10) or training school cadet bands and bandmasters at their headquarters or elsewhere in the country (Foote, 1968a:29). Their repertoire incorporated performances with well-known performing artists, as well as the SADF Entertainment Group – this was also done at times for fundraising.³¹⁴ Ceremonially, they ‘carry bearing, wear a uniform, march in a smart fashion and play music with a military flavour’ (SA Army Band, 1973:64). This is further illustrated by these earlier images of insignia provided by Foote (1968a:28-29, 37), as can be seen below. Notice the absence of the crown in later images, which is an indication of the changing military culture of the UDF and the SADF.



Cap badge worn from 1935: lyre surrounded by a protea wreath (gilded metal) and underlined with a scroll (white metal) inscribed ‘S.A.P.F. - S.A.S.M.’ (South African Permanent Force = Suid-Afrikaanse Staande Mag).

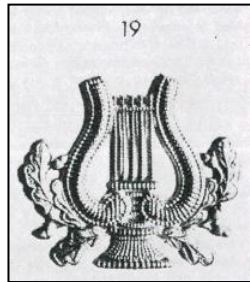


Collar badge worn with cap badge (16).

³¹⁴ The SA Army Band, for example, provided music for a cabaret show by Pip Freedman at a military ball in Port Elizabeth for the Army Fund (Deftige bal in PE aangebied, 1981:59). See also the ‘Performing artists’ section in this study.



Arm badge (worn from 1935 to 1959): gilded metal containing a lyre, crown and two oak branches.



Arm badge (worn from 1959): gilded metal containing a lyre and two oak branches without the crown.

Figure 49: Military insignia (Foote, 1968a:28-29, 37)

Typically, military bands performed at important historical events, memorial parades and at ceremonial functions (Foote, 1968a:29). Historical events included the Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg (1936), inauguration of the Voortrekker Monument (1949), and the Van Riebeeck (1952) Union (1960), and Republic Festivals (1966 and 1971), while ceremonial functions included the inauguration of the first President (1961) and the state funerals of General J.C. Smuts, Adv. J.G. Strijdom and Dr H.F. Verwoerd (SA Army Band, 1973:10). Public performances (also on Saturdays, Sundays and Public Holidays) included concerts and broadcasts in South Africa and South West Africa (SA Army Band, 1973:10) and military tattoos.³¹⁵ In April 1935, the band performed their first retreat ceremony at Voortrekkerhoogte. The Special Service Battalion formed the Guard of Honour, while the Band (performing in civilian clothing) formed a circle around the flagpole, a position from which they performed

³¹⁵ Tattoos included the one organised by the Citizen Force units of Witwatersrand Command at Milner Park, Johannesburg, Saturday 11 November 1967 (Wit command stages military tattoo, 1968:13, 17) and the Durban Military Tattoo (SADF's participation in the Durban Military Tattoo, 1979:18). See the section on the Military Tattoo in Chapter Nine.

the music (Imrie, 1976:54). Later in the same year they performed at the official opening of the Pretoria City Hall, where they also gave their first concert performance (SA Army Band, 1973:10). They also toured extensively in North Africa and Italy during World War II (Foote, 1968a:29; SA Army Band, 1973:10), Rhodesia, the Congo, and in France (1966) for the 50th anniversary commemoration of the Battle of Delville Wood and during World War II they entertained troops with three concerts a day on Anzio Beachhead (SA Army Band, 1973:10).³¹⁶ The photograph (below) of a performance in the Johannesburg City Hall on 23 November 1967, arranged by the Entertainments Committee of Wits Command (SA Army Band concert, 1968:37), depicts the Army Gymnasium Choir and SA Army Band. Repertoire included 'Die kappe', 'All through the night', 'There's a tavern in the town' and 'Sarrie Marais'. The accompanying caption to the photograph noted that 'military training is imposing an influence for good on the Republic', taking into account the varied backgrounds of the soldiers (SA Army Band concert, 1968:37). This statement reiterated the apparent need for the SADF and the military training of young conscripts to shape the country in line with Cold War anti-communist thinking. Essentially, placing this caption with the particular photograph of a music performance suggests the role of music as support in shaping the nation militarily.

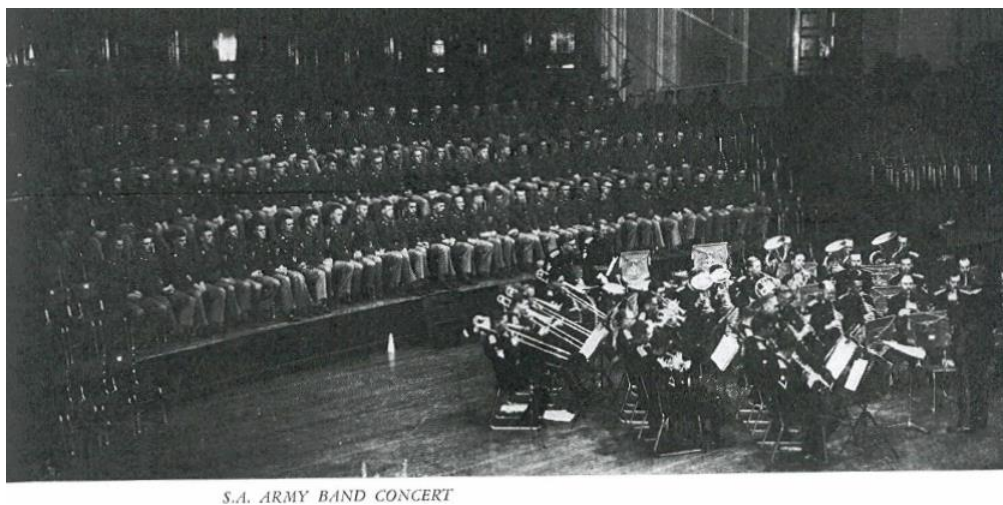


Figure 50: SA Army Band concert (1968:37).

³¹⁶ See also Imrie (1976:54-57).

It is documented that the Band performed approximately 270 times, which included performances with the National Symphony Orchestra and SABC Orchestra in 1980 (Leërorke se manne blink uit in sport, 1981:44). An 'exciting and memorable' SA Army winners' gala was staged at the Rembrandt Hall at the University of Pretoria in 1984 to honour achievements in various sectors. The programme included performances by the Light Horse and SA Army Bands, harpist Hector Villa from Paraguay and a group of dancers. Again, to convey the principles of militarisation into civilian homes, through the medium of broadcasting by the SABC on 17 May 1985 (Fish & Primich, 1985:4). Together with the Light Horse and 21 Battalion Bands, they participated in the SADF's 75th anniversary celebration concert at the Nico Malan Opera House in Cape Town, which was broadcast (Cohen, 1987a:49). An indicator of militarisation thus included performances in combination with civilian orchestras or personalities of note at prestigious events. The choice of these performances and repertoire (although not specifically mentioned) could provide some indication of music as a tool in the militarisation of South African society, in which case this kind of event would have catered for a small percentage of the South African population, most likely above a certain income bracket and with a preference for Western art music.

Ceremonial functions included the Presentation of Colours to the Transvaal Scottish Regiment (Transvaal Scottish presentation of new colour to the Regiment, 1967:30-32), and memorial services for World War I Armistice Day and the loss of South African soldiers in various wars, held at the War Memorial at the Union Buildings in Pretoria in November 1981 where representatives of various countries took part in a wreath-laying ceremony. The South African Army Band, under the direction of Adjutant E.S. Taylor, provided military and religious music, while the Pretoria Highlanders performed pipe music (Gesneuweldes word onthou, 1981:21). The SA Army Band accompanied hymns at a church parade held by Northern Transvaal Command and National Servicemen from several bases at the Defence Stadium, Voortrekkerhoogte, on Sunday 1 August 1971, representing 'all religious denominations'. The message was delivered by Rev. R.H. Moore and Ds M.W. Pretorius and the occasion was attended by family members, the Minister of Defence and his wife (Mr P.W. Botha and Mrs Botha), generals and high-ranking SADF officers (Church parade, 1971:45).

Olaf Andresen's 'Heidelied' (1963) adapted with the lyrics of the SA Army March, featured on a recording, *The whistling troopie*, launched in 1983 (Book and record morale boosters,

1983:46). The recording, containing a ‘bilingual balance of march music and “folkish” songs’, featured the vocal backing of a number of SADF choirs. SABC-TV filmed the process of making this recording. Here one can see how the public was drawn into various stages of these products from making them for broadcasting to their commercial sales, thus extending an awareness of the military to civilians. Additional attempts to extend military awareness to the public of all ages included school visits and shows. During a visit to Sunshine Corner Nursery School in Valhalla, for example, children (mostly from military backgrounds) were given a music demonstration (Sound of music in the warm winter sun, 1984:16). In this way music served as vehicle to convey a friendly image of the military to learners from a young age. At the 39th Rustenburg Agricultural and Industrial Show (Republic Day long weekend and SADF 75th anniversary), the SA Army Band, together with cadet bands and drill squads from local schools ‘stirred the crowds with music and marching’. This took place against the backdrop of military displays informing an ‘impressed public’ about various military units. The popularity of the Show was indicated by attendance figures from the previous year, which stood at 80 000 people (Fried, 1987c:62). From the description in *Paratus* it is evident that the government and SADF recognized the impact of music as a tool to incite audiences. The Band’s performance, together with the South African Air Force Band at Church Square in Pretoria during a prize draw for the South African Army Fund and Southern Cross Fund, was in support of a countrywide competition, with prizes sponsored by companies such as Truck Makers, Nissan and Yamaha (Pryswenners aangekondig: Vreugde op Kerkplein, 1988:8). The involvement of the private business sector as sponsors at events where military band performances took place in public spaces and at public events, and bands visiting schools to give demonstrations to school learners, indicate a concerted effort by the government and SADF to use music to gain support for the war effort.

7.1.13 South African Army Women’s College Band

See the section on the South African Army Women’s College in Chapter Five.

7.1.14 South African Cape Corps (SACC)

The South African Cape Corps (SACC) was the first ‘non-white’ (Nöthling & Steyn, 1986:49) and only coloured (John, 1984b:10) unit in the SADF, with its origins traced as far back as the time of Jan van Riebeeck in 1661 (Cupido, 2013; John, 1984b:6). Although not officially

known as the SA Cape Corps, people of colour were involved in the Cape Colony's defence from the early 18th century (John, 1984b:6). Since 1774 coloured troops had already been serving in the Pandours,³¹⁷ Korps der Vrijen,³¹⁸ the Cape Regiment,³¹⁹ the Cape Light Infantry and Cavalry,³²⁰ and the Cape Mounted Riflemen (SAKK kry eenheidskleure, 1978:3).³²¹ Although the first Pandour regiment was established in 1781, by 1793 the Pandours Corps was formed to curb the British threat to the Cape Colony at the time, where they fought with the Dutch against the British in 1795 (Nöthling & Steyn, 1986:47). The Pandours Corps, subsequently under the British (as the British took control of the Cape Colony), was then renamed to the Cape Corps (1797), only to be re-named again to the Corps of Pandours when the Cape was handed back to the Dutch in 1803 (John, 1984b:6). Thereafter they became the Cape Regiment (again with British takeover) in 1806.³²² Although they functioned under various names, colloquially they were referred to as the Cape Corps. They were involved in a number of defence campaigns and wars such as the Siege of Grahamstown (1817), the Relief of Port Natal (1842), and the Battle of Boomplaats in the Orange Free State (1848). During World War I they served the British government and after a long silence (from 1919),³²³ they were drafted into service for the Second World War, but this time in non-combat roles with the South African forces. In both World Wars they were deployed to East Africa and countries such as Egypt and Italy.³²⁴ Finally, in 1963 they were re-established as the South African Coloured

³¹⁷ The Corps Bastaard Hottentotten ('Hottentots' and 'people of mixed racial origin'), which preceded the Pandours, was established in 1781 (to counter British invasion) and disbanded in 1782. The Pandours Corps (1793-1795), established by the Dutch, consisted of the same racial make-up as the Corps Bastaard Hottentotten and some members also hailed from the Moravian Mission Station at Genadendal to serve as reinforcements against the British. The name 'Pandour' originated from Croatian Baron von der Trenck's ferocious group in the 1700s (De Villiers, 1975; Malherbe, 2002; Balić, 2015:53), meaning 'guards' or 'policemen', or a nobleman's armed escort (Balić, 2015:1).

³¹⁸ The Korps der Vrijen ('Free Corps', 1803-1806) was formed in Stellenbosch just before the Corps Bastaard Hottentotten. Judging by Malherbe's (2002) description, it appears that segregation had already started at this stage, where members of this Corps were not white and of a lower rank.

³¹⁹ The Cape Regiment existed from 1806 to 1817 and was revived in 1986 with its Headquarters at Eersterivier Military Base (Fried, 1988f:37; Malherbe, 2002).

³²⁰ The Cape Light Infantry and Cavalry existed from 1817 to 1827 (Malherbe, 2002).

³²¹ The Cape Mounted Riflemen functioned from 1827 to 1870 (Malherbe, 2002).

³²² See also Fried (1988f:37), who wrote about a memorial service for the Cape Regiment.

³²³ See 'SA History Online' (2016) for their involvement during World War I.

³²⁴ See Difford (1920) and 'The Soldier's Burden' (n.d.) for the period 1915-1919 and Bantjés (1990:111-122) for World War II.

Corps at Eersterivier in the Cape (John, 1984b:6-7; SAKK kry eenheidskleure, 1978:3; Nöthling & Steyn, 1986:47). In 1964 the first instructors for service in the Army and Navy received training (SAKK kry eenheidskleure, 1978:3-4). Their name changed to Cape Corps in 1972 (John, 1984b:6-7; SAKK kry eenheidskleure, 1978:3).³²⁵ In 1980 the structure of the Cape Corps consisted of three units, namely the Cape Corps School, 1 SA Cape Corps Battalion and the SA Cape Corps Maintenance Unit (operational from 1 January 1980) (John, 1984b:10; SAKK DB groei met rasse skrede, 1980:38). The SA Cape Corps was disbanded on 31 March 1992 and replaced by the coloured 9 South African Infantry Battalion at Eersterivier, Cape Town (SAnews/defenceWeb, 2015).

Paratus creates the impression that during the course of history the predecessor groups to the SA Cape Corps existed as homogenous (coloured) groups, with the exception of singling out the ‘Bushmen’ as a group. But the picture is more nuanced than *Paratus* implies. It is not certain whether they functioned as a homogenous group or whether they served as mixed groups, though apartheid-orientated thinking seems to imply the former. Judging from Van der Ross (1979:5-7, 38-43), it is evident that ‘coloured’ as a community was a group that did not see themselves as homogenous in the way described by the Population Registration Act of 1950. Instead they considered themselves in various groupings that were conjoined under the label of ‘Coloured’.³²⁶ The first mention of ‘coloured’ in their name was when they were re-established as the South African Coloured Corps at Eersterivier in 1963 (as mentioned above), which suggests, that by this time, unit members were exclusively seen by the SADF as a single racial group.

³²⁵ In ‘SAKK DB groei met rasse skrede’ (1980:38) it is written that the Unit was founded as the Coloured Corps Training Centre in 1964. The voluntary period of a year was extended to two years in 1980 (Great enthusiasm showed by voluntary soldiers, 1981:35; John, 1984b:6-7). In 1979 they could join the Permanent Force (‘n Loopbaan in die Staande Mag, 1979:34). From 1980, the conscription numbers grew gradually over the years (Cronjé, 1986a:29; Great enthusiasm showed by voluntary soldiers, 1981:35; John, 1984b:10; Militêre diens: Bruin gemeenskap bring hul kant, 1985:55; SAKK DB groei met rasse skrede, 1980:39) with an apparent 7 000 recruits turning up to join the SACC in 1987 (Rekord getal NDPs meld hulle vir diensplig aan, 1987:38-39).

³²⁶ In this regard, see Van der Ross (1979:5-7, 38-44) who gives succinct but in-depth descriptions of these groupings.

From the SADF perspective, a position in the SA Cape Corps was also validated with phraseology depicting large numbers of conscripts aspiring to join the SA Cape Corps.³²⁷ In 1985 more than 50 Mariners received training with the Infantrymen (De Smidt & Hollander, 1985b:23). The suggestion of a high rejection rate in 1985 and the mention of the increase in application numbers in subsequent years,³²⁸ in combination with reports of recruits wanting to be soldiers and wanting to participate to express their love for their country, implied that a position in the SADF and in service of the Nationalist government (irrespective of the discriminatory apartheid policies) was a desired one. Coloured and Indian conscripts as a separate group received the same training as those in the rest of the SADF Junior Leader courses (De Smidt & Hollander, 1985b:23) and had to adhere to the same conditions as other SADF units, which included the maximum amount of border duty and completing the same courses for promotion (John, 1984b:9-10).³²⁹ Yet they had their own drilling methods and etiquette (De Smidt & Hollander, 1985b:23). This appeared to be a façade to prove that the SADF accommodated all conscripts on equal terms and that there were no racial distinctions. Two staff sergeants were promoted in the early 1970s (SA Kleurlingkorpsnuus, 1971:25), seven to Lieutenants in 1975 (John, 1984b:7), five to Captain (SAKK kry eenheidskleure, 1978:4),³³⁰ and a number to the rank of Major in 1980 (Nöthling & Steyn, 1986:49). The emphasis on their achievements as ‘a great moment in the history of the Coloured people of the Republic’, accompanied by phraseology of achievements that had ‘to be worked for’ (‘not be given away’)

³²⁷ See ‘Great enthusiasm showed by voluntary soldiers’ (1981:35), ‘Militêre diens: Bruin gemeenskap bring hul kant’ [‘Military service: Brown people do their share’] (1985:55), ‘Rekord getal NDPs meld hulle vir diensplig aan’ [‘Record number of NSMs report for national service’] (1987:38-39) and ‘want to be here’ (Fried, 1988h:14).

³²⁸ See ‘Militêre diens: Bruin gemeenskap bring hul kant’ [‘Military service: Brown people do their share’] (1985:55).

³²⁹ A two-year contract stipulated that conscripts commenced with basic training in the infantry, followed by officer training for those who qualified to eventually become Infantry Officers (John, 1984b:9). They were already deployed in the Operational Area from 1976 (John, 1984b:7; SAKK kry eenheidskleure, 1978:4); 377 members received *Pro Patria* medals for border duty in 1977 (SAKK kry eenheidskleure, 1978:4). See also ‘Pro Patria medals for the brave’ (1978:8) and ‘Proud parents see sons receive medals’ (1981:45).

³³⁰ See also ‘Vyf van SAKK word kapteins’ [‘Five of SACC became captains’] (1978:4-5).

(Councillors visit SA Cape Corps, 1973:iii) suggests that coloured people in general lacked ambition.³³¹

Volunteering as National Servicemen was generally based on economic, patriotic, security and historic reasons such as families serving in other wars (John, 1984b:9-10; Rekord getal NDPs meld hulle vir diensplig aan, 1987:38-39). Nevertheless, there were Coloured people who did not submit to conscription, as their loyalty was not to the regime in power, but to South Africa as a geographical space or as the country of their birth (Van der Ross, 1979:87).³³² Lieutenant Marianne Jansen (daughter of SA Cape Corps Major Cronjé) was the first coloured woman to be conscripted to the SADF. She was first appointed as welfare officer at the SA Cape Corps from 1984, but was to start Service in 1987 (Blom, 1986:17). ‘Ons is trots op haar’ [‘We are proud of her’] (Blom, 1986:17) is again an emphasis on the achievements of coloured people, suggesting that they lacked ability.

7.1.14.1 South African Cape Corps Band formation and history

A regimental band had already been formed in March 1918 and, as described by Difford (1920:329, 331),³³³ a ‘bandsman of that splendid body the Royal Irish Constabulary’ Mr. C. Linsell of Cape Town ‘soon licked promising material into something like preliminary shape’, making ‘good progress’ before embarking for Egypt in June 1918, where they performed behind the frontlines. In these earlier days the band performed in Kimberley, Cape Town and at venues in the Cape Peninsula (Difford, 1920:331). From these earlier beginnings, it is evident that racial issues were already at play. Pre-apartheid colonial rhetoric, featured in Difford’s description, gave the impression of a band that lacked ambition and motivation and so depended on the help of Mr Linsell who was ‘able to rapidly advance the skill of his musicians, who became in time quite useful performers’. Even though by the early 1940s there is evidence of mixed groups, as indicated by the inclusion of a white drum major who performed under the

³³¹ This is also confirmed by Van der Ross (1979:10-11, 36-37).

³³² See also Van der Ross (1979:10-11, 36-37) with regards to ‘poverty people’ (mindset of hopelessness) and ‘poor people’ (based on possessions).

³³³ Imrie (1976:64) notes that the band was established in 1919.

auspices of the Directorate Coloured Services, there was already racial discrimination as ‘non-white’ soldiers were not allowed to attend performances of companies where white women were in attendance, or where performances given by whites to ‘non-whites’ were frowned upon (Bantjés, 1990:111). The lack of a formal entertainment unit for ‘non-whites’ encouraged musical activity in their own ranks, and after a formal attempt to present the concert, *Zonk*, slow progress was made to establish an entertainment group (1990:113-114).³³⁴ Only by the end of September 1943 did the Cape Corps Band start, receiving their training in the Middle East (1990:116). On 10 August and 30 November 1944, the Number Three Cape Corps concert group and Number Two Non-European Military Corps, also called *Jabulani* and *Africa Star*, respectively, were established (1990:117). Adjutant Officer W.R. Dyer and Staff Sergeants G.W.R. le Clus and G.J. Olivier were in charge of Number Two Non-European Military Corps, Lieutenant H.A. Clark of Number Four Cape Corps concert group, and Lieutenant H. Ralston as production officer of Number Three Cape Corps concert group (1990:118). Number Four Cape Corps concert group toured to camps in the vicinity of the Suez Canal in February 1944 (with seven performances to approximately 1 500 soldiers per performance), and Cairo and then to Libya. On home ground, programmes for the Number Three Cape Corps concert group included acrobatics, comedy and dance. In 1944 they performed in the Middle East and Italy (Bantjés, 1990:119-122) and in 1946 they returned to South Africa (entertaining the troops on the way home), where they were eventually disbanded (Imrie, 1976:57). These SA Cape Corps Band performances in the Middle East during the Second World War included ‘tea garden’ performances near Helwan at the Y.M.C.A and *Suikerbossie* ‘tea gardens’, where they exchanged with the SA Permanent Force Band to provide entertainment for the troops who were to return to South Africa. There were two morning, afternoon and evening shows, with dance bands performing in the mess halls and at evening performances in recreation halls, while the Band also provided accompaniment to visiting concert parties, totalling some 180 performances in a month (Imrie, 1976:57). Imrie’s description that these ‘accomplished and

³³⁴ Bantjés (1990:111-112) refers to correspondence in 1942 where mention was made of concert entertainment for ‘non-whites’ during the First World War. These attempts were revived in 1942 in trying to establish a band for ‘non-whites’.

capable' musicians provided 'pleasure to many thousands of the Allied troops', confirmed that they did indeed improve the morale of the troops.

The South African Coloured Corps Band was established in Eersterivier in 1965 and included a number of members who had not played military instruments before (Imrie, 1976:63-64).³³⁵ An interesting aspect is Imrie's description of the physical features such as the tooth formation, other physical characteristics but also the finger suppleness of the musicians to match the choice of instruments. Yet, the denigration of coloured people seems present in comments such as 'to say nothing of their various lip thicknesses' (1976:64). The Band made rapid progress and they gave their first performance the following year (1976:64) and according to the report by SAnews/defenceWeb (2015), they had already made a name for themselves as they were 'already earning kudos on the national stage'. The 2 SA Cape Corps unit band consisted of recruits who started their basic training in February 1988 and their musical training in April of the same year. The group learned music and theory during 'hours in a classroom every week' (SACC troops accomplished musicians, 1988:49), under the guidance of Warrant Officer Vic Wilkinson, who played with various military bands and who also performed with personalities such as Liberace, Tommy Steele and Jerry Lewis. The emphasis on joint performances by SADF individuals with celebrities, as in Wilson's case, elevates the status of the SADF on the assumption that the SADF appoints individuals of a certain high standing. The phrase 'hours in a classroom' alludes to a sense of boredom, repetitiveness and perseverance. This motivation and their attendance on a voluntary basis, enabled their aspiration to earn 'the reputation of the much listened to Band of the Cape Corps' (SACC troops accomplished musicians, 1988:49). Although there is no particular literature pertaining to a history of the SA Cape Corps Band, reports in *Paratus* from the 1970s and 1980s give more detail into their performances during these decades. Performances took place during site visits, presidential inaugurations,³³⁶

³³⁵ Imrie was involved in the initial stages of this band (1976:63).

³³⁶ See Aarons and Le Chat (1984:4-6).

commemorations of historic occasions and places, conferences, Freedom of Entry parades, military days, shows, openings of Parliament,³³⁷ galas and passing-out parades.³³⁸

7.1.14.2 Site visits

Site visits, as part of propaganda exercises, exposed civilians to the military realm and vice versa. This served to inform the public of the efficiency and facilities of the SADF. An SA Cape Corps specific example included a visit by councillors from the Cape Town Municipality to the SA Cape Corps Centre in Faure, where the councillors had the opportunity to see a class, the facilities and various displays of military skill (some accompanied by the SA Cape Corps Band). Light background music was provided by the ‘very capable’ SA Cape Corps Band during a meal in the Officers’ Mess (Councillors visit SA Cape Corps, 1973:iii). The display of these diverse activities, along with performances by the SA Cape Corps Band, points to the dual function of the Band in providing military music and music for entertainment. The fact that music was performed during this exercise where civilians and the military interacted, indicates that music as entertainment underpinned militarisation. Access to various SADF environments was regarded as a privilege reserved for and approved by the elite (for example, Municipal Councillors). Although ‘light music’ was on the programme, no specific repertoire was mentioned. Choirs that visited the SA Cape Corps included the Welsh Men’s Choir, who performed with the SA Cape Corps (Walliesers besoek die SAKK, 1982:20) and, as part of the SADF 75th anniversary celebration in 1987, a 34-member choir from 1 Military Hospital, Pretoria (Sotho, Tswana, Shangaan, Zulu, Ndebele and Xhosa) performing to members of the SA Cape Corps (Cohen, 1987d:44). Details about the Welsh Men’s Choir performance included a short performance, a duet by a certain Mr S. Weaving from the USA (who donated a Flugelhorn) and Captain Liebrandt, as well as spontaneous music-making (Walliesers besoek die SAKK, 1982:20). This may have been an example of crafting an image of the participation of ‘non-whites’ in the SADF. Using the platform of music, *Paratus* also noted the Southern Cross Fund handing out parcels during a visit (Fried, 1988a:19). As the troops lined up to

³³⁷ See ‘Opening of Parliament’ (1984:30-31) and Cohen (1987c:32-33).

³³⁸ See Fish and Primich (1985:4-5) for galas and Cronjé and Cohen (1986:30-31, 55-56) and Fried (1988a:19) for passing-out parades.

collect these parcels, they ‘sang and whistled appreciatively’. Here Fried (1988a:19) refers to the parade ground being ‘invaded, not by the enemy, but by the doughty ladies of the Southern Cross Fund’. The reference to ‘doughty ladies invading the parade ground’ handing out parcels, points to the bravery of these women, and the act of women handing out parcels echoes Enloe’s (1989:138) ‘surrogate militarized motherhood’.

7.1.14.3 Freedom of Entry, Honours and Unit Colours

Presenting Unit Colours is a symbolic gesture of a nation expressing its appreciation of a unit’s loyalty towards its country. Such award was bestowed upon the SA Cape Corps in 1978 (presented by the State President Nico Diederichs) (SAKK kry eenheidskleure, 1978:3).³³⁹ Though no specific mention was made relating to music, the interested reader will note the side drums in the photograph below. It may well be that music formed an integral part of the ceremony, although not reported as such.³⁴⁰



Figure 51: SAKK kry eenheidskleure (1978:3)

³³⁹ Nicolaas Johannes Diederichs (1903-1978), third State President of South Africa (1975-1978), Minister of Finance (1967-1975).

³⁴⁰ See the section on military traditions and customs in Chapter Nine.

The award of the Freedom of Entry to a number of towns and cities such as Kuils River,³⁴¹ Cape Town,³⁴² Bellville and others,³⁴³ was an indication of their recognition and appreciation of the SA Cape Corps by the citizens of the Cape (John, 1984b:10). The 1981 Freedom of Entry into Kuils River (which was an annual event) started at De Kuilen Primary School with the presentation of the honour at a Town Council meeting. Afterwards, the Mayor handed over the scroll at the Van Riebeeck sports field. The unit then marched through the streets, passing the podium where the Mayor (Mr Visser) took the salute. A number of dignitaries, including Lieutenant-general J.J. Geldenhuys (Chief of the SA Army), Mr Chris Heunis (International Affairs) and Mr Myburgh Streicher (MP for De Kuilen) attended the event (Kuils River honours men of the SACC, 1981:25).³⁴⁴ Similar to other examples, these occasions involved a substantial amount of public display in conjunction with the presence of high-profile individuals. Gathering on the sports field, marching through the street and choosing a primary school as location for military events, exemplify the use of various public spaces for militarisation purpose and the involvement of civilians from an early age. These types of public displays made ‘appreciative’ spectators from civilian society aware of the military’s achievements by conferring these privileges on the respective units. However, the ‘nation’s appreciation’ was not always expressed in all areas of society, as conveyed in *Rixaka* with the term, ‘Cape Corpse’ (Art against conscription: Jaantjie [sic] kom huis toe, 1985:23).³⁴⁵ This was an understandable reaction, considering that in the light of apartheid’s segregation policies, units such as the SA Cape Corps still made a contribution towards protecting (white) society against the perceived threats. This was in itself a politically and ideologically compromised position and may have caused a division in society along pro- and anti-government lines.

³⁴¹ See, for example, ‘Kuils River honours men of the SACC’ (1981:25).

³⁴² The SA Cape Corps received the Freedom of the City of Cape Town in 1974 (SAKK kry eenheidskleure, 1978:4). See also Coloured kaleidoscope (1976:30) for photographs of the inspection during the conferral of the Freedom of the City on Cape Town.

³⁴³ The SA Cape Corps unit in Faure had received the Freedom of Bellville on 17 April 1982 (Cronjé, 1986a:29).

³⁴⁴ Occasionally, the SA Cape Corps played a supporting role of accompanying other units. At the Stellenbosch Commando’s Freedom of Entry into the Strand, the SA Cape Corps Band accompanied the Ceremonial Company (Dwyer, 1989:22) while at a commemoration service at Villiersdorp in the Cape, the SA Cape Corps School band performed at the Overberg Commando’s Freedom of Entry parade (Villiersdorp vergeet nie gesneuweldes, 1982:27).

³⁴⁵ This comment was made in relation to the film *Jantjie kom huis toe* (see Chapter Six).

7.1.14.4 Military days and shows

Military days and shows were potentially the finest opportunity for the SADF to convey a positive image. Naturally, military objects were temporarily on display (and often available for exploration), providing the public a tangible awareness of the military. The article, 'Coloured Corps beat retreat at Cape Show' (1968:37) only referred to the 'high standard of efficiency and military precision' of the SA Cape Corps while 'Militêre dag aan Weskus' ['Military day at West Coast'] (1984:32) gave a reasonable indication of the order of events on such a military day. Starting the day (Saldanha Bay) with march pasts, the remainder of the day was devoted to allowing access to military hardware and armour exhibitions, and to attend live military displays. The day concluded with a military ball. Here, again, military objects and processes were incorporated into civilian surroundings. Although the text of 'Militêre dag aan Weskus' (1984:32) does not explicitly mention music, the accompanying photograph (below) depicts the SA Cape Corps Band leading the standard bearers through the streets of Vredenburg. The photograph shows the various races lining the streets focusing on the military procession of coloured musicians leading a white unit. This appears to be a small procession as no other units or military vehicles are visible in the photograph. Even in such a small procession, with music present, it was possible for the SADF to merge the civilian and military spheres of life.



Figure 52: 'Militêre dag aan Weskus' (1984:32).

7.1.14.5 Parliament

The Parliamentary session starting on 25 January 1985 attempted to usher in multinational collaboration, peace and consensus.³⁴⁶ The summary of the event in *Paratus* is dominated by President P.W. Botha's speech (De Smidt & Hollander, 1985c:34-39). The title, 'Vrede deur samewerking en deelname bewerkstellig' ['Peace achieved through collaboration and participation'], is an example of how the government placed the focus on peaceful multi-racial collaboration, yet within the context of apartheid and racial segregation, and how this message was conveyed by the SADF through its publication in *Paratus*. Although reference is made to music, marches and parades, no finer detail about the music for the occasion is provided. Evidence of the SA Cape Corps Band's participation in the march in Adderley Street during this event, is the photograph below (Figure 53) (De Smidt & Hollander, 1985c:37). The publication of this photograph of the (coloured) SA Cape Corps Band in an article about multi-racial collaboration created the impression that the SA Cape Corps represented the coloured community, suggesting that they (coloured community) supported the ideals of the government.³⁴⁷

[Photograph on next page]

³⁴⁶ The Tricameral Parliament (houses according to racial groupings) was created after the change in the Constitution in 1983. Instead of the President and Prime Minister, the State President now took power (SAHO, n.d.a).

³⁴⁷ See also Chapter Nine (Events: Opening of Parliament) for the SA Cape Corps Band's involvement in the Opening of Parliament, 1989.



Figure 53: The SA Cape Corps Band, Adderley Street (De Smidt & Hollander, 1985c:37).

YouTube provides footage of the SA Cape Corps Band performing ‘Die Stem’ and other works at the opening of Stalplein (as part of the Parliamentary precinct) in 1986 (Opening of Stalplein, 2015). State President’s Guard formed the honorary guard, while military veterans who ‘sacrificed for South Africa’ were also present, as along with the flag bearers representing the various divisions of the SADF. The Drakensberg Boys’ Choir performed while the Flame of Remembrance was lit. This was followed by the ‘Last Post’ (also played by the SA Cape Corps Band) to commemorate all South Africans who died in various wars. The ‘Reveille’, symbolising a new future, was then played, while the flag was hoisted. The Drakensberg Boys’ Choir performed again during the wreath-laying ceremony. The proceedings concluded with the singing of ‘Die Stem’, accompanied by the SA Cape Corps Band (2015). The combination of boys, veterans and those fallen, highlights the careful planning of events like this. This in turn may indicate the depth of calculation on the part of the SADF to assimilate the two entities of army and civilian music into a homogenous partnership. Even if this was not entirely purposefully orchestrated, civilian and military stakeholders seemed to gravitate to such a

partnership with ease, clearly demonstrating the success of continued militarisation in this regard.

7.1.14.6 Celebrations and Commemorations

Celebrations involving the SADF included religious events, official celebrations, commemorations and festivals. A Christmas celebration, arranged by the Western Province Command Army Ladies Association, featured the SA Cape Corps choir, who performed the unaccompanied singing of a Psalm, a rendition of Johann Sebastian Bach's 'Jesus, Bron van al my vreugde' ['Jesus, Joy of man's desiring'], and a 'koortjie' of the Cape Corps under the direction of ds. P.J. Willemse, with 'Die wonder van Kersfees' (Die wonder van Kersfees herdenk, 1982:68).

Further events included celebrations of 'Western civilization', such as the Dias Festival and the centenary celebration of Lüderitz.³⁴⁸ For the centenary of Lüderitz, after a flag-lowering ceremony at the notorious Shark Island,³⁴⁹ the SA Cape Corps Band, together with the SWATF Band, performed at a formal ball at the K.F. Schätzleinsaal (SAW druk stempel op fees af, 1983:79). The title, 'SAW druk stempel op fees af' ['SADF made its mark at festival'] indicates the marked presence and influence of the SADF at the festival. As no explicit mention was made of any musical performances during the official ceremony at Lüderitz, it is noteworthy that the SA Cape Corps Band's contribution to the entertainment was pointed out in *Paratus*. Linking coloured performers with entertainment could also be an indication of an apartheid construct of coloured people as 'natural' entertainers. In 1981 the SA Cape Corps celebrated their 64th anniversary, unveiling a plaque in Simon's Town's Jubilee Square in the presence of various high-ranking military officials and ex-servicemen of the SA Cape Corps, 96 members from the SA Cape Corps as Guard of Honour and a Quarter Guard from the Navy (Cape Corps honoured in Simon's Town, 1980:41). 2 SA Cape Corps Battalion's second year of intakes in 1987 at Eersterivier was celebrated with a parade, awards and activities such as drilling,

³⁴⁸ For the SA Cape Corps' participation in the Dias Festival, see Chapter Nine.

³⁴⁹ Shark Island served as a concentration camp from 1905 to 1907, built by the Germans. Many Nama and Herero men, women, and children died here. See, for example, Erichsen (2007).

singing, parabat displays and a display of ‘contact with terrors’. Interspersed with all the ‘proud’ moments, the popularity of Rifleman Ivan Franco’s jokes and singing was specifically pointed out (Cohen, 1987e:56). The grotesque combination of ‘contact with terrors’ with singing and joke-telling indicated of the use of light-heartedness in an attempt to suppress a more disturbing reality. The performance of the enemy (‘terror’) scene was specifically intended to indoctrinate coloured spectators as references to ‘terrorists’ in *Paratus* were mostly directed at black people. Commemorating the fallen as part of a public display was also instrumental in creating an awareness of the military amongst civilians of various races. Elements of such displays included music, being granted privileges, such as the Freedom of Entry to towns, extended to this band, their invitation to participate in the unveiling of memorials, wreath-laying and tree-planting ceremonies, marches, and receiving messages from people of note further extended the military presence from the white community into the coloured community. These military celebrations that included parades, drilling, military displays and music were shared between the military and the public. Music at these events which were of a celebratory nature, conveyed emotions of excitement and enjoyment experienced by those present. Events such as the commemoration of lost lives of the SA Cape Corps Ex-Servicemen’s Legion (Kimberley branch) appeared to be an extension of the SA Cape Corps conscription drive. This occasion also made provision for a ‘permanent presence’ for the SA Cape Corps at Kimberley, with a planned intake of 200 members in 1987. A Guard of Honour was formed by a platoon from the SA Cape Corps and wreaths were laid while the band of 1 Maintenance Unit performed (Delmar, 1986d:11). Although no detailed accounts of the SA Cape Corps Band’s performances at SADF birthday celebrations were documented, the occasional photograph provided evidence of their participation.³⁵⁰ This may imply that they were important only in their community but not for and to the SADF as a whole, and that their importance was only regarded in serving SADF propaganda.

³⁵⁰ See also John (1984a:34-36) and ‘Thousands watch birthday celebrations in Cape Town’ (1987:24-27). As part of the 75th SADF anniversary parade in Bellville, the SA Cape Corps Band participated with the Guard of Honour in a retreat ceremony (Fried, 1987d:42).



Figure 54: Combined SA Cape Corps and SA Army Band at SADF 70th birthday celebration
(SAW 1912-1982: 'n Glorieryke dag, 1982:44).

7.1.14.7 Concerts and performances

Under the direction of Captain Liebrandt, at a conference held at Oude Libertas, Stellenbosch (hosted by the SA Cape Corps) in 1981, the SA Cape Corps Band performed works such as 'Saturday night fever' and the 'Light Cavalry overture' (Directorate Infantry conference in Cape, 1981:44). Their role at the 60th Congress of the South African Legion at the Castle in Cape Town included the performance of a retreat ceremony (War veterans from afar gather in Cape Town, 1981:55). Other events included conferences and concerts in concert venues and city halls. In general, *Paratus* and *Commando* provided limited information about repertoire. Yet their coverage provides sufficient examples of military bands performing civilian music at combined military and civilian events how military culture was brought into civilian life and vice versa.

Lacking details of the repertoire, *Paratus* focused on the dignitaries at a concert in the Bellville City Hall.³⁵¹ Adding to the surroundings was a display of SADF and terrorist weapons featured in the foyer of the Town Hall. The guests also had the opportunity to meet members of the SA Cape Corps on an informal basis (Luisterryke konsert deur SAKK aangebied, 1986:6). Although the demographic composition of the general audience for this concert is unknown, it is noticeable that a small coloured delegation was present in the higher ranks (Eerwarde Allan Hendrickse and Colonel G.K. Jacobs). The presence of influential personalities such as the ‘Eerwaarde’ [Reverend] supported the aim of the government to draw in civilians from all walks of life and all racial groups.

Witnessed by some 200 guests in evening attire, the SA Cape Corps School, together with the SA Cape Corps Band, held a musical evening with performing guest artists such as Erica Roos (‘soaring, trilling voice’), Flippie van Vuuren (‘shoe stomping tends to accompany his efforts’), Rozanne Botha (daughter of President P.W. Botha, ‘confident singer with a fine range’), Jakes Andrews (singer and member of the band) and a detachment of the Cape Corps School (marching and marking time whilst singing in step). Guests, including prominent guests,³⁵² could enjoy the ‘musical offering’ in the ‘carnival surroundings’, ‘artful[ly]’ decorated. The hall containing flowers and shrubbery also included posters of Elvis Presley, Neil Diamond and the Beatles, complimented by the SADF 75th Anniversary logo and low netted ceiling (Fried, 1987a:45). Music that found a place ‘in the heart of even the toughest soldier’, included music by Glenn Miller, Schubert’s ‘Rosamunde’, and ‘In a Persian market’ (with ‘Persian’ and animal noises). Conductor Major Des Liebrandt surely succeeded in making ‘the stiffest, shyest, most aloof sergeant major loosen up and clap hands in time to the music’. This phraseology points to the power of music to break down barriers by creating a relaxing atmosphere and building morale. The evening closed with refreshments, ‘crayfish and Blanc

³⁵¹ These attendees included Genl. Magnus Malan (Minister of Defence), Mr Adriaan Vlok (Deputy Minister of Defence), Reverend Allan Hendrickse (leader of the Labour Party in the House of Representatives), General J.J. Geldenhuys (the Head of the SADF) and Colonel G.K. Jacobs (SACC Officer Commanding) (Luisterryke konsert deur SAKK aangebied, 1986:6).

³⁵² Guests included Mr Wynand Breytenbach (Deputy Minister of Defence), Mr Louis le Grange (Speaker of the House of Assembly), Brigadier A.K. de Jager (OC Western Province Command), Mr Peter Muller (Mayor of Cape Town) and MPs from the three Houses of Parliament (Fried, 1987a:45).

de Blanc' (Fried, 1987a:45). The SADF 75th anniversary concerts, as seen above, included the attendance of dignitaries and performances by well-known civilians such as Rozanne Botha, who seemed to feature prominently. The presence of these civilian performers suggests a wider social endorsement of the military effort. A degree of sentiment, yet also the role of music and emotion, is expressed as mention was made of the music touching the 'heart of even the toughest soldier'. Enjoying 'crayfish and Blanc de Blanc' suggests a kind of lifestyle reserved for the cream of the crop, which could be accessed when in the military. Television recordings of these events strengthened this image. Those not part of the proceedings were reduced to the role of spectator and left to watch from the comfort/isolation of their homes.

7.1.15 South African Infantry (SAI)

The 1st South African Infantry Battalion (originally the Special Service Battalion) formed 1 May 1933, and in 1943 became part of the 11th Armoured Brigade of the 6th South African Armoured Division, became a Permanent Force unit with two battalions in 1946. One battalion was an armoured unit, while the other became the 1st South African Infantry Battalion in 1951 (Foote, 1968b:51). Although no history of the South African Infantry (SAI) unit band appeared in *Paratus*, mention was made of a unit band marching through the streets, at a tattoo and performing martial music at a passing-out parade in Oudtshoorn (Fried, 1989:46). The Infantry School at Oudtshoorn had their own unit song composed by Dirkie and Doll de Villiers, composers of the 'Border', 'Commando' and the 'Genie School' songs.³⁵³ The release of the song featured Lenie van Wyk (vocal), Dirkie de Villiers (piano) and the Infantry School Choir under the direction of Major L.G. Schultze. Although no text for the song was included in *Paratus*, it is most likely that nationalist elements were included as it was described that the Infantrymen's eyes were radiant with pride. The involvement of well-known South African art music composers such as Dirkie de Villiers in creating cultural capital for the SADF was also

³⁵³ Together with the Infantry Song there were other cultural items for the unit, which included the Unit Colours, the Freedom of Entry to Oudtshoorn and a flame. The flame itself as a symbol was also used in nationalist organisations such as the *Voortrekkers* and the *Federasie vir Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge* (FAK) ['Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations'].

a mode of promoting the militarising of society (Infanterieskool het sy eie lied in die hart, 1980:53).



Mnr Dirkie de Villiers (links) oorhandig die bladmusiek van die Infanterieskool se nuwe Eenheidslied amptelik aan die Bevelvoerder, kol W.G. Kritzinger. Mev. Doll de Villiers het die liriek geskep en mnr De Villiers het dit getoonset.

Figure 55: Mr Dirkie de Villiers handing over the 'Infantry song' (Infanterieskool het sy eie lied in die hart, 1980:53).

Under their motto, *Exerce Perfectioni*, the South African Infantry School issued several recordings. The contents of some of these recordings, for example, included the Infantry School song, as well as religious (for example, 'Ons Vader'), traditional (for example, 'Suikerbossie') and popular music (for example 'Proud Mary') (Infanterieskool, 1982; Infanterieskool, 1983).

7.1.16 South African Medical Service Band

The South African Medical Service (SAMS) Band performed at various occasions, which included the Opening of Parliament (Opening of Parliament, 1984:30-31), the Windhoek Show (military and popular music, and a bagpipe display) (The Windhoek show, 1985:52-53), at variety concerts (SAMS's night of fun and dancing, 1986:63), at the SADF's 75th anniversary (Van de Venter, 1987b:6-9) and at the Venda Defence Force's 10th anniversary celebration (Ford, 1989b:18-19). A variety concert in collaboration with Voortrekkerhoogte High School

for Youth Year featured a ventriloquist, character dancing, Spanish dancers, *Volkspele* [folk dancing], acts by Al Debbo and performances by the SAMS College Orchestra (SAMS's night of fun and dancing, 1986:63). Mention was also made of an SAMS Pipe Band that led 2 Medical Battalion during their Freedom of Entry to Rustenburg celebration (Mills, 1989b:19).



Figure 56: SAMS Band (The Windhoek show, 1985:52).

7.1.17 South African Navy Band

The South African Navy Band (known officially under this name since December 1954), initially called the SA Navy and Marine Band, was founded on 1 April 1954 by Captain E.A. Kealey. After him, the following personalities were involved (SA Navy Band, 1973:14): Corporal William Croft (SAAF Band) (appointed as first NCO), Sub-lieutenant Richard Downey (first officer-in-charge), Warrant Officer John Imrie (SAAF Band) (first Director of Music with the rank of lieutenant in 1956. He retired on 31 January 1973), Officer R.R. Marlow, as naval lieutenant, who became the first Assistant Director of Music (1970) and Lieutenant-commander R.R. Marlow as Director of the SA Navy Band in 1973 when Commander Imrie retired.

Starting out with approximately 16 musicians (assisted by members of the Army Band), the group expanded to 42 members in 1973. Initially, the Band was stationed at Voortrekkerhoogte,

upon which it moved on 2 May 1955 to Youngsfield, Cape Town. From there they moved to the Recreation Hall in East Dockyard, Simon's Town (after the harbour was taken over by the Navy in 1957), followed by the Old Africa Station Club and Cable Hill (SA Navy Band, 1973:14). Even though women were encouraged to join the SA Air Force and SA Army Bands, it appears that a woman member had already joined the Navy Band by 1977 (Lötter, 1977:28). The 'boys in white' participated in the Opening of Parliament (annually, until 1972),³⁵⁴ state ceremonies, presidential inaugurations,³⁵⁵ parades, banquets, garden parties, concerts, receptions, gala evenings,³⁵⁶ colours, guards of honour, welfare fetes, sports meetings, dances, commemoration services³⁵⁷ and agricultural shows, providing for over 300 annual engagements, whether by means of extensive travelling through the Republic, or locally (SA Navy Band, 1973:14, 64).³⁵⁸ Describing them as 'one of the features of the Mother City' (1973:14) gives them the status of a kind of tourist attraction, tapping into the idea of the prominence of the military. In 1956 they were on board of the SAS Good Hope, which carried the Governor-General E.G. Jansen and his wife on a round trip to Madagascar (SA Navy Band, 1973:14). Their travels also took them to Knysna, where the SAS Johannesburg and SAS Durban (minesweepers) and the SAS Port Elizabeth (mine-hunter), 'with an entourage of accompanying dolphins', entered the through the Knysna Heads to participate in the annual Knysna Winter Festival. Following the opening of the festival in the town square by P.W. Botha, a march past of the George Army Women's College (200 students), the crew from the three ships and a Guard of Honour from SAS Simonsberg, accompanied by the sounds of the SA Navy Band (Navy beats the bar, 1984:6). Further events included trooping of the colour (11th

³⁵⁴ See also 'Opening of Parliament: The SADF and SAP on parade and the crowd loved it' (1984: 30-31), where the Air Force, Navy, Medical Service, SA Cape Corps and the Cape Field Artillery Band (Citizen Force Unit) were attending. At another mention of an opening of Parliament (Grand display by SADF at opening of Parliament, 1987:32-33), five bands feature, which include the South African Navy, Cape Corps, Air Force, Medical Corps and Cape Field Artillery Bands.

³⁵⁵ See, for example, the inauguration of the first Executive State President (Aarons, & Le Chat, 1984:4-6).

³⁵⁶ The Navy Band performed 'a wide selection of music to a highly appreciative audience' at a Gala Evening at the Nico Malan Theatre in Cape Town. No information about the music is provided, only the list of dignitaries is listed (Glittering gala evening, 1989:34).

³⁵⁷ Two drummers from the SA Navy Band performed the Last Tattoo (Helde vereer: 'Niemand leef vir homself nie', 1982:26).

³⁵⁸ By 1976 they had 220 to 240 appointments with an average of 20 000 miles of travelling per year (Imrie, 1976:59).

anniversary of 6 SAI Battalion, Grahamstown) (SA Navy Band, 1973:64). On the ceremonial front there was one particular description of the Navy, together with the SA Navy Band, performing a retreat ceremony, and the affect that military ceremonies could draw (Brown, 1966:15):

I have seen parades in many parts of the world. [...] and they never fail to move the hardest heart. [...] When I saw the Navy perform the Retreat ceremony [...] I was emotionally moved like thousands of others. Those young men performed a ceremony equal to any in the world. Their movements were perfect and their band was superb.

Medal presentations included Good Service medals (presented by the Director of Music, SA Navy, Commander Marlow) to band members for their contributions and high standard (SA Navy Band holds own medal parade, 1981:62), and a *Pro Merito* medal to Warrant Officer S.V.C. Murray (by Commander Marlow) for their achievement in music (recording, radio, television, entertainment to senior SADF staff, Cabinet members, the Prime Minister and the State President) (He has played music in every sphere, 1981:76).

Passing-out parades not only offered an opportunity for new recruits to demonstrate various skills, but also served as display window of military skills for civilians. An SAS Saldanha passing-out parade, for example, included a welcoming address and salute by Captain A.P. Burgers (OC SAS Saldanha), march-pasts by the Navy and Bugle Bands of SAS Saldanha, a display in seamanship, precision drills and other skills. The parade ended with a retreat ceremony to the sound of a field gun (Passing-out parade at SAS Saldanha, 1984:16). The Midshipmen passing-out parade at the South African Naval College in Gordon's Bay featured the SA Navy Band adding 'that added touch of class', as they led the whole ship's company 'with bayonets, fixed, swords drawn, flags flying and drums beating' in Main Road.³⁵⁹ The SA Naval College subsequently exercised the Freedom of Entry to Gordons Bay which had been awarded to them in 1981 (Leslie, 1987:16-17). Although Marsland (1989:10) makes no

³⁵⁹ A similar description was given for the Freedom of Entry to Cape Town in 1969 (Louw, 1969:35).

mention of any band performances, a photograph captioned, 'Part of the Navy Band at the parade' serves as evidence of musical activity. Further forms of public exposure where civilians had a chance to see and experience the skills and facilities of the SA Navy included their Open Days or Navy Days. In Simon's Town parts of the Navy base were opened for visits by the public, food and craft stalls offered eats and memorabilia, there was a grandstand built at an area for shows (radar and gun displays, performances by the SADF Ladies' Dance Group, dog shows, trapeze acts, magicians, Portuguese folk dancing, mock attacks, and so forth), various boats could be visited, and tug-boat trips were available (on-board tours). The 1988 Navy Day (National Dias Festival in 1988) also featured the Dias Caravel and performances by the Navy Band (Fried, 1988e:36-37).³⁶⁰ Relations between the Drakensberg Boys Choir and the SA Navy were formed during the Choir's 21st birthday celebration in 1987, when the school adopted the replenishment ship, SAS Drakensberg, for which purpose the ship sailed from Simon's Town to Durban. The boys had the privilege of touring the ship and spending a day at sea. The church service, conducted by Captain Pieter Franzsen, was attended by various dignitaries, while the Naval Command East band accompanied the hymns. Through the Choir's performance of the 'Seamen's hymn', Captain Franzsen noted the role of music as 'one of the most powerful mediums [...] to express [an] idea'. Then followed the adoption ceremony (reading and signing of the adoption certificate), the presentation of a mounted photograph of the ship to the school, and a morning tea on the rear flight-deck (Leslie, 1988a:23). Recognising the potential of music as a powerful medium to express an idea affirms the possibility of music to convey specific ideas within a military context and in this also the fact that military personalities acknowledged this possibility.

The SA Navy Band's participation in military tattoos included the Durban Military Tattoo in 1979, where Commander Marlow acted as the Director of all military bands (SADF's participation in the Durban Military Tattoo, 1979:18), in 1982, which also featured demonstrations by the SA Navy (The Durban Tattoo: It's going to be the best yet, 1982:42-43), and in 1987 at the Western Province Agricultural Society Show at the Showgrounds in

³⁶⁰ See Chapter Nine for more on the Navy Band's participation in the Dias Festival.

Goodwood, in the Cape Town, organised by the Western Province Command, where they participated in the massed band (Cohen, 1987b:4).³⁶¹ Further examples of exposure to the public included performances to residents of Burgers Park, learners of Christian Brothers' College in Silverton, and patients in the Orthopaedic Ward at the H.F. Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria. From the comment that 'events such as these [were] a rarity' (Navy Band had Pretorians and patients applauding, 1981:42), one can see the role of the SA Navy Band in community-related outreaches, which expressed the militarisation of society through music also at this level. They also boasted two recordings, namely: *The Band of the South African Navy 'On the march'* and *The Band of the South African Navy 'In concert'*. Both recordings featured titles in the official languages of Afrikaans and English. The proceeds of these recordings went to the Southern Cross/SADF Funds (SA Navy Band records two long-players, 1983:79).



Figure 57: SA Navy Band (1973:iv).

³⁶¹ See the Section on the Military Tattoo in Chapter Nine for a description of the Tattoo.

7.1.18 South African Prison Service and South African Police Bands

Although Imrie (1976:44) writes about public Sunday afternoon performances of the Transvaal Town Police Band in 1903, he later confirms the establishment of the South African Police Band in 1913. Bandmasters included H.P. Smith, ‘Tickey’ Wheeler, Lieutenant-colonel ‘Pat’ Bradley and Lieutenant-colonel Jefferson (1976:50-52).

The SA Prison Service Band was established in May 1963 under the direction of J.E. Koops van’t Jagt. Starting as a bugle band, by 1965 the band had developed into a full military marching and concert band (marches and classical music) with more than 45 members and the involvement of composers and arrangers Noel Stockton and Chris du Toit. Training included Unisa examinations as well as orchestral courses (ensemble, symphony and concert band playing) with support from the Society of South African Music Teachers (SASMT). In addition to military events, they also performed at civilian events such as song festivals, national festivals, shows and inaugurations (Imrie, 1976:63). In the context of the time, the involvement of civilian institutions and societies such as Unisa and the SASMT also indicated a degree of militarisation. In South Africa today, Army musicians still have access to graded examinations such as Unisa, the Royal Schools and the like, which may indicate a continuation of a certain tradition that was initiated in apartheid South Africa. These bands performed at the Tattoo for the 10th anniversary celebration of the Venda Defence Force (Ford, 1989b:18-19), the opening fanfare at the Tattoo at the Cape Showgrounds (Fried, 1988b:11), the 1982 Durban Tattoo in the King’s Park Soccer Stadium, where they formed part of the Massed Military Bands (The Durban Tattoo, 1982:42-43), the 1986 Durban Tattoo (Ash, 1986b:40-41), and the 1987 Tattoo in the Cape (Cohen, 1987b:4). In 1986 the SA Police Force Band also had the opportunity to perform at the SWA Police Force’s 5th anniversary, for which music provided a soundtrack to anti-Swapo propaganda and the successes of the SWA Police Force (Koevoet). The soldiers performed movements accompanied by singing, while they sang, ‘Ons is nie bang vir Sam Nujoma nie’ [‘We are not afraid of Sam Nujoma’], ‘Ons keer Swapo’ [‘We stop Swapo’] and ‘Ons sal die volk wys dat ons die beskermers is’ [‘We will show the nation that we are the protectors’] (Van de Venter, 1986b:12-13). Clearly, here music, including their texts, explicitly served as medium to convey anti-Swapo propaganda.



Figure 58: The South African Police Band (Van de Venter, 1986b:12-13).

7.1.19 South West African Permanent Force Band

The multiracial SWA Permanent Force (SWAPF) Band was founded under the direction of Staff Sergeant Cole from ‘literally nothing with which he could begin’, with the exception of himself and two instructors (Lieutenant Kim Edwards and Lance-corporal Klaus Lersch). Starting the band from scratch, their aim was that all members should be able to read music. The Band, which made quick progress, travelled widely in South West Africa and was invited to perform at the opening of the Caprivi Parliament, the May Festival, medal parades, parent days and military and state funerals, of which the funeral of Herero leader Mr Clemens Kapuoo was one such occasion. Although descriptions of the Kapuoo funeral lack detail, it is interesting that specific mention of this event was made in *Paratus*. No indication is provided of the scale and procedures of the funeral. The band that initially sounded ‘discordant and not a little false’, grew in popularity and drew ‘deafening applause which thundered from the rapturous crowds attending Windhoek’s famous May Festival’ with their ‘outstanding’ performances (On the road to fame, 1978:46-47). The photograph below features a photograph a popular music band, dressed in military uniform, linked to the SWAPF Band. The choice of this photograph depicting the ‘multiracial’ aspect of the band seems to have contradicted general apartheid ideology. This may just as well also indicate the unifying factor of music, irrespective of the political reality.



Figure 59: SWA Permanent Force Pop Band (On the road to fame, 1978:46-47).

7.1.20 South West African Territorial Force (SWATF) Band

A comment about five population groups playing together, provide harmony at SWATF parades for the SWA Territory Force,³⁶² gives the impression that the SWATF Band (founded in 1977) under the direction of Adjutant Officer Hutton from 1979, was another multiracial band,³⁶³ although predominantly black (Pressly, 1989d:32). As with the SWAPF Band, members could hardly read a note of music, but became more adept at it in due course. The Band, under the auspices of the HQ unit in Windhoek, also had the opportunity to perform at parades in South West Africa.³⁶⁴ Mention was also made of the well-known trombonist Natie Matsch, who

³⁶² See Pressly (1989d:33-34) for an overview of units in SWA that had a history as far back as 1939. See also Cawthra (1986:200-204) for more information on conscription into the SWATF. The SWATF consisted of 102 Battalion, 201 Battalion, 202 Battalion, 203 Battalion, 701 Battalion, 911 Battalion and 913 Battalion (SADF Info, n.d.).

³⁶³ Van de Venter (1986a:28-29) also refers to the multi-racial 911 Battalion at Oamites that held singing and drama evenings on a 'non-ethnic' basis.

³⁶⁴ One example was their performance, together with the SA Cape Corps Band at the centenary celebration of Lüderitz at Shark Island (SAW druk stempel op fees af, 1983:79).

travelled from Johannesburg to join the band (Hele Suidwes wil na hulle luister, 1982:19).³⁶⁵ For the sixth anniversary of the SWATF, the Band performed in new uniforms ‘without a false note’ (Waaghalse durf vuur op verjaardag aan, 1987:43). Descriptions of their playing as ‘discordant and not a little false’ and ‘without a false note’ were specifically used in the descriptions of the SWAPF and SWATF Bands. This may have been latent discrimination, as these bands were supposedly multiracial, yet their playing was also a metaphor for discordant multi-ethnic relations.



Figure 60: Hele Suidwes wil na hulle luister (Paratus, 1982:19).

³⁶⁵ It is uncertain whether the above referred to the SWAPF or SWATF Band, since it was written in the November 1984 issue of *Paratus* that the SWATF itself was established on 1 August 1980 as the youngest army (Net vier jaar oud, 1984:24-25) and that they were to be demobilised in 1989 (Pressly, 1989d:32).

7.1.21 Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF)

The Bophuthatswana Defence Force started as a nucleus unit at the SADF at Potchefstroom with the first trainees on 15 February 1977, after which the handing over of the unit to the Bophuthatswana government took place on 6 December 1977.³⁶⁶ All defence force aspects were included in the training, while units specialised in specific fields.³⁶⁷ In contrast to white conscripts, there were more strict screening processes, which included a minimum requirement of Standard 6 and a 'stringent medical examination', with a Senior Certificate for further progress (The Bophuthatswana Defence Force, 1980:39). These 'strict' requirements of a minimum of Standard 6 were clearly of a lower standard and therefore indicate a lower level of education afforded to black citizens. This may also have served as a sifting process due to a high demand to become conscripts within the Bophuthatswana Defence Force to enable them to assist with security and protective duties such as that at a Frank Sinatra concert at Sun City (Proud Tswanas queue to join their army, 1981:19). In 1986 they initiated their first paratroopers (Delmar, 1986a:58-59).

[Photograph on next page]

³⁶⁶ The April 1975 issue of *Paratus* already reported the groundwork towards the SADF's involvement in Bophuthatswana (Bophuthatswana hoor: 'Weermag wil beskerm', 1975:32). See also 'A nation on the march' (1987), a publication commemorating the 10 years of Bophuthatswana independence. See also Cawthra (1986:127-129).

³⁶⁷ See also Aarons (1985a:36-38) and 'Bophuthatswana's National Guard' (1977:18).



Figure 61: Bophuthatswana Defence Force (Ululations at passing out parade, 1983:61).

With no mention of music, anniversary celebrations described in *Paratus* included those of the second and fifth anniversary celebrations. Both these anniversaries featured enthusiastically received revue parades, judging from the descriptions of ‘shrill ululations of womenfolk’ as a barometer of acceptance of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF celebrates second birthday, 1982:56) and the ‘special feeling of affection’ for the Bophuthatswana Defence Force members by the citizens of Mafikeng, while the units were ‘greeted with much exuberance and pride from the townsfolk’. These exaggerated descriptions of positive receptions served as part of a rhetoric to justify the existence of the SADF and homelands armies, and that civilians in the homelands supported the SADF. The 5th anniversary parade was followed with a family day, while all festivities ended with a church parade (Aarons, 1985b:34). The first mention of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force Band was made during a parade in the Northern Cape in 1986, where they performed together with the band of 1 Maintenance Unit and the Regiment Kimberley Band, in the presence of numbers of school learners of various racial groups (Hennop, 1989:33), thereby extending militarisation across racial boundaries and age groups.

7.1.22 Venda Defence Force (VDF)

112 Venda Battalion, led by white officers, stationed at Madimbo as another satellite defence unit fighting against communism, was founded in July 1978. Training (which took place partly at 21 Battalion) was the same as for any other unit in the SADF. As no accommodation was available for spouses, members of the Battalion had frequent leave to visit their families (Vendas word knap soldate, 1982:8-9).³⁶⁸ The official Venda Defence Force was established in 1982, with an air wing established in 1984 (Eintlik vredeliewend, maar sal vir sy land veg, 1987:33-34). The title of ‘Eintlik vredeliewend, maar sal vir sy land veg’ [‘Actually peace-loving, but would fight for their country’] as well as the notion that Venda people were not aggressive or typical warriors such as the Xhosa and Zulu (1987:32), were apartheid constructs with regard to certain black groups. In this respect cultural distinctions were made in line with the ethnology of separate development, yet politically black people were mostly seen as one homogenous group. The 5th anniversary celebration of the Venda Defence Force was accompanied by the opening of their new headquarters at Sibasa, the Freedom of Entry to Thohoyandou,³⁶⁹ a Tattoo with mock attacks and a performance by the Army Band (Van de Venter, 1987e:32). A song to justify the existence of the Venda Defence Force (and indirectly, SADF) was composed by Roxley Masevhe (the winner of a fifth place at a Johannesburg Song Festival, and he was invited to perform in Germany) for this anniversary. In short, the song expressed the foundation of the VDF in September 1982 ‘[f]rom the people for the people [...] never formed to be aggressive’, but to help during disasters (‘friendly helping hand of VDF is ever-ready’) and to protect the people of Venda against the enemy (‘[n]o army no protection [...] no peace’) (Venda Weermag vyf jaar oud: Voorste sanger prys weermag in lied, 1987:34). This song summarises the relation between the Venda Defence Force and the SADF as partners fighting a common enemy, thereby serving as a typical example to militarise black civilians.

³⁶⁸ See also See also Cawthra (1986:129) for more information on the Venda Defence Force.

³⁶⁹ See also Ford (1989b:18).



Figure 62: Venda Defence Force (Van de Venter, 1987e:33).

The Venda Defence Force's 10th anniversary celebration called for festivities that lasted for a week with items such as traditional Tshivenda dances, gymnastic displays, physical training, military displays and choir performances. Bands for the Tattoo performance included the SA Medical Service, SAP, Venda Defence Force, Police Force and Prison Service Bands, as well as pipe bands (Ford, 1989b:18).

7.1.23 Light Horse Regimental Band

The Light Horse Regiment (originally known as the Imperial Light Horse), the oldest Citizen Force regiment in the Transvaal also participated in both world wars. Their name changed to Light Horse Regiment in 1962 (Kallenbach, 1969:34, 37). In *Commando* and *Paratus*, there is evidence of the Light Horse Regimental Band attending the SA Army's 'Girl of the Year' function at the Jan Smuts Airport Holiday Inn, which received considerable sponsorship from the private sector (Our Army Girl of the Year, 1975:2). They also performed at the Durban Tattoo as part of a massed pipe band (SADF's participation in the Durban Military Tattoo, 1979:18), and at a concert together with the SAAF Band at Unisa on 19 June 1985, as an annual

event (The Light Horse and SAAF bands combine, 1985:60).³⁷⁰ On 3 May 1969, witnessed by some 1 000 guests (which included dignitaries and high-ranking military officials), the Regiment received their new Regimental Colours during a parade at Milner Park, Johannesburg, presented by the then Minister of Defence, P.W. Botha. The colours, which were placed on piled drums, were consecrated by the Regimental Chaplain (Captain Reverend E.H.H. Richardson) and accepted by the Ensign (Lieutenant B.N. MacFarlane). The event was accompanied by music by the Light Horse Regimental Band, under the direction of Captain W. Scott, with drummers from Athlone Boys High School. They received the Freedom of the City of Johannesburg in 1952 (Kallenbach, 1969:34, 37).

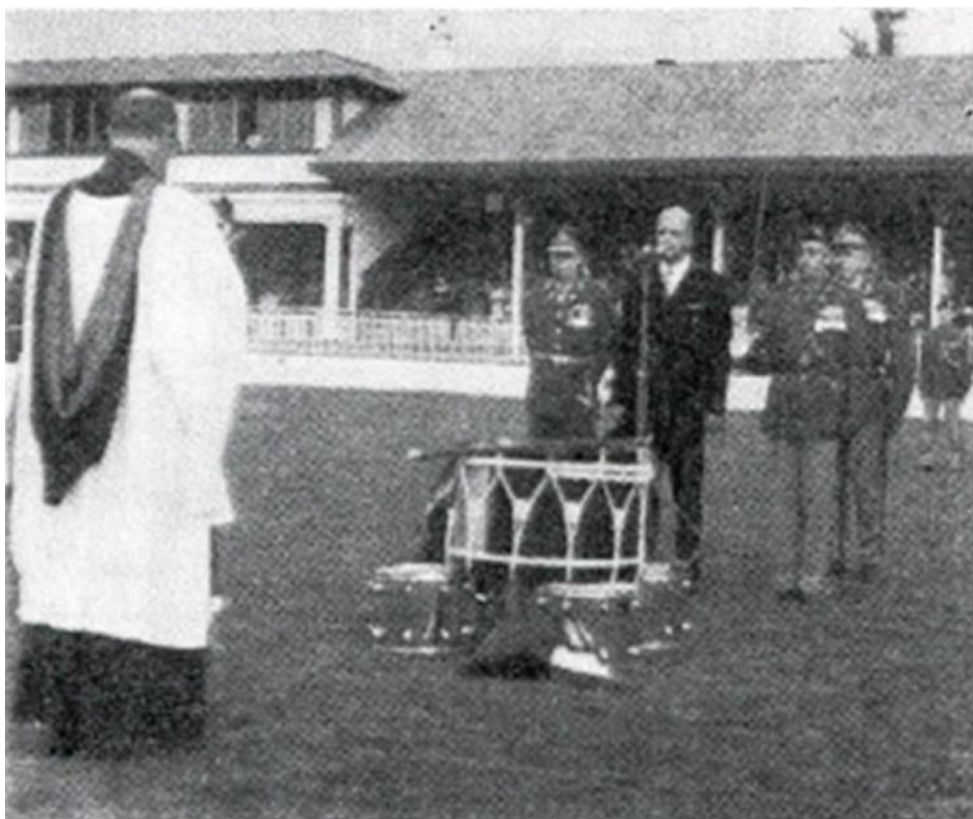


Figure 63: Light Horse Regiment gets new Colours (Kallenbach, 1969:34).

³⁷⁰ See the section about the SAAF Band in this study (Chapter Seven).

7.1.24 Natal Carbineers Regimental Band

The Natal Carbineers Regiment (cavalry regiment), established 15 January 1855, was the oldest South African volunteer regiment. The Natal Carbineers Regiment Band, originally a mounted band until the 1930s, and later a full military band with 38 members, was established in 1892 and was the first Citizen Force band to perform in Zululand and South West Africa. Members included the Deputy Town Clerk of Pietermaritzburg, doctors, music teachers, civil engineers, architects, high school learners and university students, while the band also featured women. It is documented that the band performed on average 25 public and military functions per year (with 74 parades and rehearsals during 1986) with themes such as *Rhapsody in blue* and *Hooked on classics*, and repertoire such as the arranged version of the Artie Shaw 'Clarinet concerto'. Former Bandmaster of the Royal Marines Band in the West Indies and director Sergeant G.J. Jefferson also acted as Bandmaster during the Queen Elizabeth Coronation Ball in 1953, as well as Bandmaster of the British South Africa Police Band in Zimbabwe prior to his post with the Natal Carbineers Regiment Band. The Band performed at lunch-hour concerts at the Pietermaritzburg City Hall, the Royal Show in Pietermaritzburg (as part of the massed military band performance), the Ladysmith Trade Fair, the centenary celebrations of the first train from Ladysmith to Colenso, for a TV film session on author Alan Paton's life (Paton's brother, a sergeant in the Regiment, was killed during the Second World War), and for other regiments (Umvoti Mounted Rifles with no regimental band). Most of these endeavours seem to have involved some form of civilian participation (even if only at audience level). A focus on bands such as the Carbineers also brought in an element of military tradition, which may have been a focus for members. Unfortunately, the government may also have seen this as an opportunity to use bands like these as a tool to soften the hearts of the public. As part of encouraging an interest in music, they were also to perform with school learners in 1987 (Jones, 1987:26). To advance an interest in music among school learners may also have been a way in exposing them to the military band setup as part of an awareness of the military. In 1988 they received the Freedom of Entry to the city of Pietermaritzburg on its 15th anniversary, when the Band led a detachment by the sound of 'drums and the measured tread of marching feet' (The Carbineers exercise right to march into their city, 1988:14-15). The onomatopoeic 'measured tread of marching feet' evoked the sound of participating in the rhythm of war.

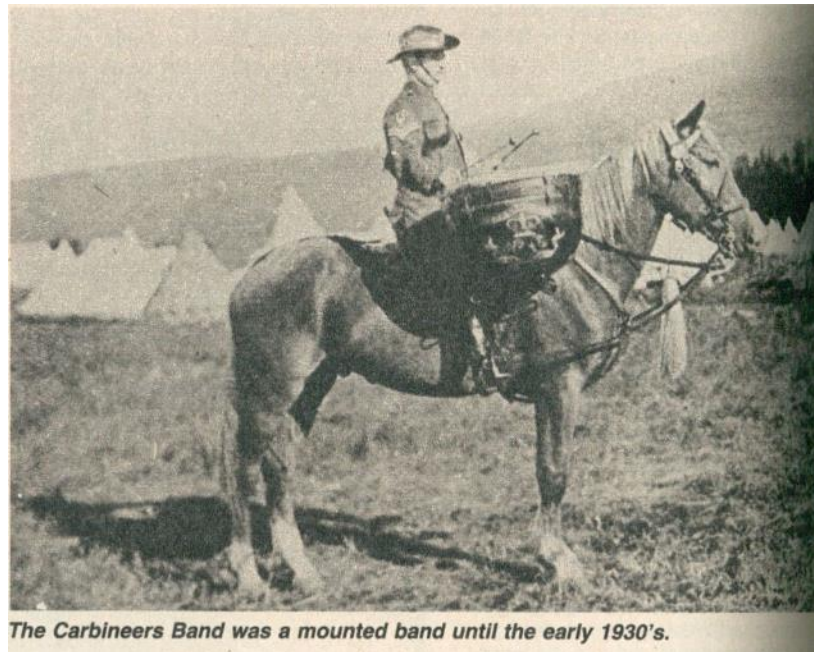


Figure 64: Natal Carbineers, 1930s (Jones, 1987:26).

7.1.25 Pipe bands

Besides the traditional military band, various pipe bands took on ceremonial functions with some of them existing as independent bands (i.e. not performing as part of the larger military band), or as the pipe sections of larger military bands extracted to combine with other bands, or as pipe bands attached to specific units. Examples included a massed pipe band of 100 pipers and 40 drummers from the Light Horse Regiment, Transvaal Scottish Regiment,³⁷¹ SA Irish Regiment, Witwatersrand Rifles, Pretoria Highlanders, the Kimberley Regiment, Natal Mounted Rifles, the Durban Regiment and a National Service Pipe Band that was undergoing training as part of a 'new tradition' at the 1979 Durban Tattoo (SADF's participation in the Durban Military Tattoo, 1979:18). For the 300-year celebration of the Castle in Cape Town mention was made of the participation of the Cape Town Highlanders, Cape Field Artillery,³⁷² Cape Town Rifles and Cape Town Caledonian Society Pipe Bands in a mass pipe band display

³⁷¹ See Roodt (1985f:6-13) for a comprehensive overview of the Transvaal Scottish Regiment. Each battalion had its own band (1985f:13).

³⁷² See Imrie (1976:66) for the Cape Field Artillery Band.

(The Castle 300 years old, 1979:7). As an example of a pipe band attached to a unit, mention was made of the pipe band of the South African Medical Service (SAMS) that participated in a Youth Year service at Fort Klapperkop (Die jeug hou fees op Fort Klapperkop, 1985:58).



Figure 65: Transvaal Scottish Regiment Band (Roodt, 1985f:13).

The Durban Regiment Pipe Band as the only recognised pipe band in Natal, was formed when the Montclair Pipe Band joined the Durban Regiment in 1976, whereupon it became the Durban Regiment Pipe Band (Genl. Viljoen attends Durban Regiment's red-letter day, 1982:31). They performed at the Freedom of Entry to the City of Durban for the Regiment and official opening of their Headquarters in 1982 (1982:31), and a performance at the Militaria Expo '89 in Durban (Kennedy, 1989a:45). Various Citizen Force Regiments and Units with pipe bands included the SA Irish Regiment, Pretoria Highlanders and Witwatersrand Rifles, who also performed at the Durban Tattoo in 1983 (Durban Tattoo a feast of stars, 1983: 62-63).³⁷³ The Pretoria

³⁷³ The August 1988 issue of *Paratus* features a photograph of members of the pipe band of the Witwatersrand Rifles that participated in a medal parade (Van Wyk, 1988b:28).

Highlanders celebrated their 50th anniversary in 1989 with drum majorettes from Lyttelton Manor High School, food and gifts stalls, Scottish material, which all contributed to a ‘carnival atmosphere’ (Hattingh, 1989a:42). The February 1989 issue of *Paratus* also referred to a welcoming ceremony held for the Pretoria Highlanders after returning from a camp, where a marching column, led by a regimental Highland Pipe band, marched through the streets in Voortrekkerhoogte with onlookers tossing streamers (Steyn, 1989:23). This special welcoming occasion indicates how civilians bought into the idea of the military and how music played a role in militarisation with military pipe band music filling civilian spaces. Pipe music has a long-standing association with battles and memorial services, which brings to mind the idea of sacrifice. The Irish Regiment was founded in 1914 in Johannesburg, while the Pipe Band was formed in 1939. They obtained their music and instruments from Eire. The band became the South African Irish Regimental Association Pipe-Band in 1949. Another pipe band was formed in 1974, which left the Regiment with two pipe bands (Kneen, 1986:34-38).³⁷⁴



Figure 66: Band members after Witwatersrand Rifles medal parade (Van Wyk, 1988b:28).

³⁷⁴ See Kneen (1986:34-38) for a more comprehensive overview of the SA Irish Regiment.

For entertainment the Cape Town Highlanders and the regimental band of the Cape Town Rifles (Dukes) performed at sundowner concerts at the Castle,³⁷⁵ accompanied by a slide show on the Battle of Blaauwberg in 1806 (Fried, 1988c:40).³⁷⁶ The combination of the pipe music soundtrack with the slide show of significant moments in South African war history brings to mind the use of history, accompanied by music, to sensitise civilians towards the military. The Cape Town Highlanders also performed at the centenary of the Wynberg Officers Mess (Janssen, 1987b:45). Other pipe bands included the East London Caledonian Society pipe band (Pressly, 1989b:18), the Rietfontein Commando Pipe Band, which performed at the Rand Show, where Gen. Malan thanked businessmen for their contribution to the military (Oosthuysen, 1989:37-38), and the Durban Caledonian Pipe Band that performed at the 1989 Militaria Expo in Durban (Kennedy, 1989a:45).

Noticeable is also the mention of Afrikaans-speaking bagpipe players, as with the example of Captain Tielman Nieuwoudt (Hattingh, 1989a:42) and Private Bruce Marais, who drew the following comment from an 'admirer': 'It's one thing for an Afrikaner to play jukskei, but when someone called Marais plays the bagpipes, you wonder what on earth the world is coming to!' (Pte Bruce Marais takes top honours with bagpipes, 1983:17). The South African and Scottish cultural exchange at times seems to have attracted attention, as found in Roodt's (1985f:6-13) article of 6 pages, accompanied by numerous photographs, and the description, 'As South African as boerewors and mampoer, full of Scottish tradition as haggis and whiskey'.³⁷⁷ Here, the borders between Afrikaans and English were emphasized with the distinction between these language and cultural groups, suggesting the unifying factor of (Scottish) tradition and music.

This section on bands is particularly interesting for the generalising conclusions it allows. Here we have musical structures in a military context interacting with civilian life in an array of

³⁷⁵ See Imrie (1979:65-66) on the Dukes.

³⁷⁶ See Steenkamp (2005) for a full description of this battle between the British and the Batavian Republic. Here he refers to the role of music during combat as follows: 'Drums rattled, Highland bagpipes screeched eerily, overlaying frenzied battle-cries [...]'.
³⁷⁷ Translation by the author.

events on a spectrum with the military and civilian life at opposite ends. The uniforms, marching, and the sound of the military band in these quasi-military/civilian spaces provided a powerful vehicle for militarization. The repertoires performed, even if overwhelmingly songs of a popular or non-military nature, were framed by the uniforms, the marching and the particular military sound. The notion of musical transformation or translation or re-contextualisation comes to mind. When hearing a popular song in this military context, the popular (and ordinary) is clothed in military sound, and in the event of festivity or celebration, made normal and ordinary. Thus, the military sound itself becomes something normal. It signals reassurance (strength, discipline, order) without imposing it, promising a good side to the military adventure as it interfaces with civilian sounds. The formation of race-based musical units in this regard was uniquely important, as it maintained the race mythology of apartheid and through (military) sound implied a common denominator that enabled identification without interaction that sustained the notion of common interests without asking what those interests were. Again, music created a signifying space for such reception, and was therefore uniquely situated to interact and interface with the civilian population served by the military.

Reportage in *Paratus*, which also included single photographs featuring multi-racial activities and performances,³⁷⁸ attempted to promote a multi-racial ideology with the SADF as a non-racialised institution. A more explicit attempt of creating an image of the SADF as multi-ethnic force are represented by the photograph in the *Paratus* of May 1978 showing black and white people working alongside each other, with white people as instructors.³⁷⁹ Taking into consideration that separate units were constructed according to race, this kind of reportage is not a true representation. Apart from individual photographs of mixed bands, photographs generally include performances at official events and occasions such as Tattoos where mass performances of the separate units take place. It is also difficult to overestimate the notion that collective music making in a band context inculcated discipline. Performed discipline in this

³⁷⁸ See, for example, the following photographs in this study: Figure 36: 'Children on an Eland armoured car at the Rand Show' (Oosthuysen, 1989:38), Figure 59: 'SWA Permanent Force Pop Band' (On the road to fame, 1978:46-47), Figure 70: '2 SAI Battalion choir evening' (Choir began to recognise talent, 1988:4), Figure 76: 'Mass band display' (Cohen, 1987b:4) and Figure 78: 'Durban Tattoo 1987' (Pentopoulos, 1987b:12-13).

³⁷⁹ See Figure 38: 'This is how 21 (Black) Battalion prepared for border duty' (1978:5).

respect, was a kind of disciplining of variety in tightly functional units. Since band music was able to successfully convey this principle, it is not implausible to think that the proliferation of military bands as set out in this chapter showed an awareness that music could communicate these ideas better than slogans or political speeches.

7.2 SADF Choirs

7.2.1 202 Battalion: The Kavango Choir



Figure 67: 202 Bataljon vier elfde verjaardag (1987:42-43).

202 Battalion, initially 35 Battalion, was formed in 1975 (Badcock, 1981:99).³⁸⁰ Through reading of *Paratus* one first becomes aware of the singing of Kavango soldiers or a Kavango Choir when soldiers sang to media reporters (Mediavroue se kosbare avontuur ‘in die bos’,

³⁸⁰ See also ‘202 Bataljon vier elfde verjaardag’ [‘202 Battalion celebrates eleventh birthday’] (1987:42-43) for an overview of the 11th anniversary celebration of the Battalion and ‘Die manne van 35 Bataljon’ [‘The men of 35 Battalion’] (1979:10-11) for conscription of members into the Battalion.

1981:71) and when a choir of Kavango soldiers sang at the State President's visit to their base near Rundu in the Operational Area (Staatspresident besoek die Operasionele Gebied, 1981:6). Later, in the same year Mrs Ristie Viljoen, the wife of the head of the SADF, accompanied women students from the Universities of Potchefstroom and Pretoria to the Operational Area, where they encountered the Kavango soldiers of 202 Battalion singing the 'Südwesterland' ['South West Song'] and their own Kavango anthem (Tannie Ristie kom haar belofte na, 1981:86-87).³⁸¹ In 1987 the Drakensberg Boys Choir visited the Operational Area to gain insight into the SADF, where they collaborated with the Kavango choir of 202 Battalion in performances. Challenges included the differences in culture and age, although, at the border they crossed 'cultural borders' (Steyn, 1987a:35). Where the Kavango soldiers had to learn the music by means of a tape recorder, the boys had difficulty with the dance movements, and in this they developed a mutual respect for the different skills. At Omega the boys further experienced the excitement of a mock attack and 'ratpacks' (packed meals for soldiers) (1987:35). Mentioning 'cultural borders', 'ratpacks' and mock attacks, may also have been an allusion to the border and prospective army life. A programme of the joint performances of these two choirs gives some insight as to the works performed, which included performances of each choir individually: Kavango Choir: 'Yaro-Yaro', 'U'te wena', 'I'd like to play my old banjo', 'Al lê die berge nog so blou', 'My Bonnie', 'Summertime', 'Down by the riverside', 'German medley' and traditional action songs; Drakensberg Choir: Beautiful children', 'Softly whispering', 'Riding', 'Mother of mine', 'Happy song', 'Could it be magic', 'Andante andante', 'Thank you for the music', 'Oh my papa' and 'Jikele mweni'; Joint choirs: 'Gloria' by Pinkham, 'Creation hymn' by Beethoven, In die Drakensberge', 'Wiederschau', 'Oh what a beautiful morning', 'Oklahoma', 'Das Südwesterland', 'Hevenuh Shalom', 'Hanukah dance', 'Morokeni', 'Yo-Yo', 'Shosholoza' and 'Mmoroke' (Drakensberg Seunskoor en 202 Bn Kavango Soldatekoor, [1987]). Music in the example of the combined Drakensberg Boys Choir and Kavango Choir performance not only bridges the gap between the military and civilians, but also, by means of a combined performance by a black military unit and a white school

³⁸¹ According to Cronjé (1986b:30), the choir was founded in 1985 by Captain Riaan Stander of the South West African Territory Force (SWATF): 202 Battalion.

performing popular and traditional songs, played a role in conveying apartheid propaganda of inter-racial collaboration. On invitation from Stellenbosch University, a choir of 39 Kavango soldiers participated in a singing festival in Cape Town in 1986, which was the first time that some of the choir members travelled by aeroplane, or saw mountains and sea (Cronjé, 1986b:30-31). They also performed in Worcester (four performances) and at Noxolo School in Crossroads (on invitation from Group 40 in Wingfield), drawing standing ovations. After the performance at Noxolo School (where the children also sang to the Kavango soldiers), the soldiers took a tour of Crossroads and Khayelitsha (1986c:30-31). In 1988 the 30 members of the choir had an opportunity to visit the Cape again, performing at the Cape Show in bush camouflage, (Fried, 1988b:11) as well as the Rand Show, where they performed together with members of 21 Battalion and the Army Band. They executed all the actions of a mock attack where ‘terrorists’ were wiped out, with music ‘after the action’ (Van Wyk, 1988a:13). This bizarre combination of ‘wiping’ people out and celebrating it with music was performed in the presence of civilians and in this way desensitising them to regard the enemy as objects. With the visit of Prem Chand of the United Nations to the Operational Area, the Kavango choir also entertained the guests with their ‘rhythmic songs’ (Nuus uit Suidwestelike Afrika, 1989:6).

As Cronjé (1986b:30-31) singles out the remarks of individual choir members pertaining to the surroundings and topography in Cape Town, it is evident that the tone is somewhat condescending to point out a certain level of ‘uneducatedness’. In Steyn (1987a:35) one detects the observation of cultural differences and this is perhaps also linked to the idea of a certain level of education, by which the Kavango soldiers had to learn the music by means of a tape recorder, whilst the boys of the Drakensberg Choir battled with the dance movements. Steyn’s (1987a:35) closing remark of ‘Kultuurgrense is inderdaad aan die Grens oorgesteek [Cultural borders have indeed been crossed]’, also indicates the crossing of racial and cultural borders, telling of the apartheid racial divisions. Yet being on the border and making music together on the border created some kind of camaraderie. Incidentally, references to the Kavango soldiers pertained to rhythm (bordering on the idea that Africans ‘naturally’ had good rhythm), drums or *Shaka Zulu*, which were apartheid constructs of Zulu culture.

7.2.2 South African Army Church Choir and Concert Group (The Canaries)

Rooted in the idea of Ds W.J. Meintjes (previously at the Air Force Gymnasium congregation), who retired as tour leader in 1972 (Lugmag se gewilde koor, 1972:16),³⁸² the *Canaries*, or the ‘inheemse nagtegale’ [‘indigenous nightingales’], started on 18 March 1967 with a tour of members of the Air Force Gymnasium Choir and Concert Group to Lichtenburg (Lötter, 1976b:22).³⁸³ The aim was to collect money for the church building of the NG Tek Congregation (Hierdie koor doen veel meer, 1981:81; Jooste, 1989a:34). The tour included a concert on the Saturday evening, followed by a church service on the Sunday morning. As a result of the success of the tour, the group received more invitations than they could handle in 1967 and subsequent years. The popularity of the group also brought in sufficient funding with the contribution of R1 500 by a farmer who was reduced to tears. Eventually, R6 000 was collected for the evening. By the end of their fourth year they had collected R150 000.³⁸⁴ Funds obtained from tours, donations and the sales of the *Langs ver paaie* albums, were channelled into the Chaplain’s Service Fund, pocket Bibles, Christian literature and films for National Servicemen, including those on the border (Lötter, 1976b:22-23; Hierdie koor doen veel meer, 1981:81). These funding drives were therefore an indication of how the public bought into this venture, which combined the military with the church, thus giving a foothold for the military in the church and the spread of Christian Nationalism (one of the pillars of the apartheid government). Initially, they functioned under the name Air Force Gymnasium Choir. In 1972, due to their popularity and by order of enthusiast P.W. Botha (then Minister of Defence), their name changed to the SA Weermag Kerkkoor en Konsertgroep [SA Army Church Choir and Concert Group] (Lötter, 1976b:22).³⁸⁵ The nickname *Kanaries* (*Canaries*) hails from a remark by a certain Sergeant Major, who apparently said that the only thing they were able to do well

³⁸² See also Farewell to SAAF Choir (1973:53).

³⁸³ Contrary to the sources used in this section in this study, ‘Hierdie koor doen veel meer’ (1981:81) indicates the founding date as 1966.

³⁸⁴ Approximately R6 600 000 in 2020.

³⁸⁵ Van der Merwe (2017) mentions performances to P.W. Botha and adds that they at times had to look after his children.

was to sing (Jooste, 1989a:34).³⁸⁶ The comment about the group could have been seen as a compliment, yet at the same time also as a derogatory remark suggesting that they were not of good enough calibre for warfare.

Intakes for the Choir took place every January, where only 23 members per year were admitted for a period of two years to keep a consistent number of 46 members (Hierdie koor doen veel meer, 1981:81).³⁸⁷ Auditions were based on voice quality, musical (instrumental and/or vocal) skill, Christian principles and integrity. Although clothed in Air Force uniforms and although they were based at the Air Force Gymnasium, they absorbed intakes from all three Forces, different church denominations and both official languages (Hierdie koor doen veel meer, 1981:81; Lötter, 1976b:23).³⁸⁸ Chaplain Harrington had already started with potential recruitment by sending circulars to schools ('Hierdie koor doen veel meer, 1981:81), to be continued by Dominee [Minister] Adriaan Kotze later on (Jooste, 1989a:34). Once they arrived at the Air Force Gymnasium at Valhalla, they started with basic training (on the same level as other National Servicemen) as a group (Hierdie koor doen veel meer, 1981:81). As the members of the group continued with their daily Gymnasium duties and training as soldiers, they had to rehearse at night (Lötter, 1976b:22-23). They would have had an early start with their first inspection, followed by a rehearsal, only sometimes to end at 23:00 (Jooste, 1989a:34). In 1976 the choir of 46 members was administered by a Chaplain-General (General Major J.A. van Zyl) responsible for the overall management, an administrator (AO1 H.P. Venter, alias 'Oom Orreltjie', who had been an organist at the time for 26 years) and a conductor and accompanying Chaplain (Dominee E. Harrington from the Air Force Gymnasium NG congregation) (Lötter, 1976b:22-23). In 1989 the Choir was under the direction of Ds Adriaan Kotze (Jooste, 1989a:34). Conductor and accompanying Chaplain Harrington, a skilled instrumentalist (piano, organ, guitar and accordion), was also responsible for setting a number

³⁸⁶ See also Van der Merwe (2017).

³⁸⁷ Jooste (1989a:34) indicated the numbers of 21 first-years and 21 second-years, while Van der Merwe (2017) indicated a consistent number of 43 members in 1975, which coincided with the number of bus seats.

³⁸⁸ From an interview with former Canarie member Derick van der Merwe (2017), it is evident that various Christian denominations were represented, which included Presbyterian and Roman Catholic members.

of the light music items (together with Adjutant Officer H.P. Venter). The Choir trained under the direction of Mr A.S. Theron from Pretoria University (Lötter, 1976b:23).

Judging by the number of performances, present and past, it is evident that this group gained a great deal of popularity. In 1972 it was documented that they covered 45 920 km by various modes of transport (bus, train and aeroplane), performing at 292 venues across South Africa and South West Africa in front of audiences totalling some 340 000 people altogether (Lugmag se gewilde koor, 1972:14). 136 performances in a matter of 10 months were presented the previous year (17 000 km by bus and aeroplane, 125 days on the road and performing to 67 000 people), increasing performances to 150 for the year following (Lötter, 1976b:23) and later approximately 250 performances per year (Jooste, 1989a:34), including 256 concerts in 1975 with four to five concerts on some days (Van der Merwe, 2017). Travelling these distances also posed its problems in terms of physical space, which at times may have caused strife (Van der Merwe, 2017). With the geography of South Africa extensively covered by the group, and given the television coverage of their performances, there was hardly a place that would not have seen the group in one way or another (SAW 1912-1982: Musiek was deel van die verjaardagspyskaart, 1982:51). People also travelled from afar, as seen by a performance at Nuwerus on the West Coast, where people travelled distances of 350 km to attend a concert and venues filled beyond capacity (Van der Merwe, 2017). This illustrates the geographic reach of their message, which was to convey the image (also spiritually and culturally) of the SADF to the public, to instil a positive attitude towards National Service, to equip National Servicemen spiritually (Hierdie koor doen veel meer, 1981:81; Lötter, 1976b:23), and to preach the Gospel in the Army by means of their singing (Jooste, 1989a:34). Success in conveying the positive image was summarised by letters from parents indicating that they were more at peace with sending their sons to the border (Lötter, 1976b:23). Other performances took place at memorial services (McMillan, 1986a:36, Mills, 1989d:6), at visitors' days (Besoeekersdag, 1988:49), at Freedom of Entry parades (De Jager & Botha, 1988:12-13) and prestige music evenings with other choirs. Civilian society contributed by accommodating members of the Group in their homes. Bookings for performances, as required for institutions and churches, were to be made the preceding year (Lötter, 1976b:23). Performances also included Christmas services (one attended by the Minister of Defence) and *Geloftefees* at Blood River - the only choir that was invited to perform at this Festival (Lugmag se gewilde koor, 1972:16). They also featured at the SADF's 70th anniversary celebration, providing 'inspiring' ['inspirerende']

music to boost soldiers' morale, drawing a comment that the South African soldier was a 'singing soldier' ['singende soldaat'] who had been doing service with a 'song on his lips' [lied op sy lippe']. Repertoire for these performances included military and traditional songs sung by the SA Army Church Choir. Orchestral music was composed by W. Hille, Haydn, C. Donne, Von Suppe, Clare Grundman, Alford and Pope and performed by the SA Army Band, under the direction of Commandant A. Jacobson, for which a standing ovation was received. The event was closed with a military ball, attended by Justice M.T. Steyn as guest of honour, to bring together the public and the military (SAW 1912-1982: Musiek was deel van die verjaardagspyskaart, 1982:51). They also performed with the (black) Air Force Gymnasium Choir, which had won a number of awards, at a prestige evening (Koor se puik prestasie, 1989:26) and in churches in coloured areas in the Cape and Beaufort West (Van der Merwe, 2017). These performances with a black choir and performances in churches in coloured areas formed part of the SADF's strategy of creating the impression of multi-racial collaboration, thereby militarising black and coloured South Africans.



Figure 68: The Air Force Gymnasium Choir (Koor se puik prestasie, 1989:26).

In 1989 they won two gold certificates in the divisions, 'Church Choirs' and 'Male Choirs', at the Roodepoort International Eisteddfod - the first time that they had entered (Jooste,

1989a:34). Accompanied by a full band, the Choir performed short skits, and light instrumental and choir works. Repertoire included songs such as ‘Big bad wolf’, ‘Sylvia se ouma’ [‘Sylvia’s grandmother’] (Lötter, 1976b:23), ‘Jerusalem’, ‘Onse Vader’ [‘Our Father’] (Van der Merwe, 2017), light popular Afrikaans songs, international and ethnic music, performing in several languages (Jooste, 1989a:34). A number of well-known personalities also participated in the *Canaries*. Such examples include the drama director Marthinus Basson (Cronjé, 1986c:61) and singers Mimi Coertse and Manuel Escorcio (Van der Merwe, 2017).³⁸⁹

Die groep van 1976 voor die gebou by die Lugmaggimnasium wat in 'n eie plek van aanbidding omskep is met fondse wat hulle voorgangers ingesamel het. Die kerkgebou is op 23 Mei 1976 amptelik in gebruik geneem. Ds E. Harrington staan in die middel voor, met die konseratina.



22 PARATUS • JULY 1976

Figure 69: SA Army Church Choir accompanied by Chaplain Harrington, holding a concertina (Lötter, 1976b:22).

³⁸⁹ Cronjé briefly mentions Basson’s participation in the *Canaries*, accompanied by more general information on him (1986c:60-61).

7.2.3 1 Military Hospital Choir

In June 1985 the 1 Military Hospital Choir was formed by Mrs Caroline Mphela, out of a group of 15 members (Cohen, 1987d:44). In 1987 the choir, which then consisted of 40 members of hospital staff (one nursing sister and mostly cleaners and theatre assistants), toured the Cape Peninsula,³⁹⁰ where they were accommodated by the SA Cape Corps at Eersterivier, most unlikely to be hosted by white SADF members due to apartheid policy. Audiences included members of the SA Cape Corps, 2 Military Hospital, the Castle, Crossroads, Khayelitsha, Atlantis, the East Dockyard in the South African Naval Base at Simon's Town and for tourists on top of Table Mountain. The popularity of the group was described in terms such as '[setting] the Peninsula on fire', while they were 'besieged with requests for more music' on Table Mountain, leaving staff and patients of 2 Military Hospital 'highly impressed' with their repertoire of spiritual and traditional songs in North Sotho, Zulu, Tswana, Shangaan and English (Cohen, 1987d:44). In between performances they had an opportunity to see the facilities in the Navy Base at Simon's Town, to visit Seaforth Beach at Simon's Town and to attend an evening concert at 2 Military Hospital in Wynberg (1987d:44). Because of the efforts of the cleaning lady, Mrs Caroline Mphela, and the choir members who rehearsed during their lunchtimes, the choir later celebrated their successes with a trophy at an inter-unit choir competition at Voortrekkerhoogte (Blom, 1987a:20) and a second place in a choir competition at the Voortrekkerhoogte Town Hall (The sound of music in VTH, 1988:49).

7.2.4 Other choirs

In 1980 the Jinqi Choir from Ciskei, accompanied by a sangoma, visited Simon's Town, partly to '[express] their gratitude' for returning the remains of a Chief Jongumsobomvu Maqoma (Geika's son) from Robben Island in 1978. Accompanying the sangoma (on the accompanying photograph) were the Naval Officer in Command (Commander J.C. Ferris) and his wife, the Ciskei's Jinqi Tribe's youth leader in the Cape, and Padre Mervin Moore (SA Navy Chaplain's Service) (Sangoma choir visits Simon's Town, 1980:41). Although it may have been the first

³⁹⁰ Six members could not participate in the tour (Cohen, 1987d:44).

mention of a sangoma that accompanied a choir, it was not the last. Wood (1988:29) reported a traditional day for black workers in Pretoria and Witbank where units (with representing choirs) of the Quartermaster General (QMG) Headquarters, 5 Military Works, 5 Base Ordnance Depot, 3 Transport & Supply Depot, 91 and 92 Ammunition Depots and 1 Militêre Drukeenheid were present. Ds Murray Louw Phatudi of the SA Air Force opened the event where the participating choirs sang works of their own choice, followed by traditional dances on the ‘rhythmic beat of traditional singing’, performed by ‘colourful dancers’³⁹¹ and ended with a traditional lunch of ‘pap’ [porridge], meat and ‘môrôg’ [amaranth]. Handcrafts from the various units were also on display at the 1989 traditional day (Kennedy, 1989c:35). While 92 Ammunition Depot (also invited to record with French Broadcasting) excelled in the choir division, 91 Ammunition Depot (with their sangoma) won the dancing competition (Wood, 1988:29). In 1989 the QMG HQ won the choir competition, 92 Ammunitions Depot and 5 Military Works Unit shared the award for the best dancing and 92 Ammunitions Depot won the category for traditional handcraft display (Kennedy, 1989c:35). The traditional day, which was started in 1986, was planned to be an annual event (Wood, 1988:29) as ‘not enough personal contact existed [with the] Black workers’ (Kennedy, 1989c:35). This, again, seems to suggest differentiation between black and ‘non-black’ workers. It seems as though these events were met with a good deal of enthusiasm expressed through music and dance, while the winners sang to the QMG, who handed over the prizes for the 1988 competition, and as the participants already started rehearsing for the following year’s competition, which took place at 5 Military Works Unit in Lyttelton (Kennedy, 1989c:35).

Paratus included a reasonable amount of coverage on choir competitions, suggesting the successes of black choirs at these competitions. The September 1988 issue reported on an annual competition at the Voortrekkerhoogte Town Hall, where 13 black worker choirs participated. A repertoire of traditional African music featuring “‘Umfoloze” and other great African folk songs’ was expanded to include songs in English and Afrikaans. Senior lecturer for the Department of Education and Training in Soshanguve and chief judge at the competition, Mr Isack Loots, wrote ‘The marching song’ for the competition (The sound of

³⁹¹ See also Kennedy (1989c:35).

music in VTH, 1988:49), to provide a military flavour for the event. There was also an ‘ethnic section’, with ‘entertaining tunes’. Again, one notes the high standard and a successful competition (The sound of music in VTH, 1988:49). In 1989 the Air Force workers choir at Voortrekkerhoogte won a competition, with the prize including a shield, trophy and a TV 2 recording (Werkerkoor seëvier, 1989:9). 1989 featured participation of seven Tswana choirs and a guest choir from Boskop Training Centre (for the 6th year) at North Western Command, Potchefstroom. Repertoire required a traditional song of own their choice and a Christian song (Singing good for spirit, 1989:15). Again, judging from the comment ‘Singing good for spirit’ (1989:15), it is clear that certain apartheid perceptions of black people’s ‘proud and unique [singing] talent’ provided an example for the SADF to develop team spirit. In conjunction with these apartheid constructs of the ‘singing or musical talent’ of ‘non-whites’, ‘traditional’ products (singing, dancing and food) were often included as part of the package of identity construction to give more weight to the othering and subordination of ‘non-whites’.

2 SAI Battalion Group (D Squadron) and Walvis Bay High School presented a choir evening in the Walvis Bay City Hall. The 1 Maintenance Unit of Kimberley’s Amusement Orchestra under the direction of Warrant Officer De Meyer also performed on this occasion. Interestingly, mention was made of the multiracial D Squadron with ‘a lot of natural talent’ to be developed (photograph below), which contributed to the formation of the choir. Under the direction of Captain Truter, the standard was raised, and they reaped the success of this in 1987 - this is in addition to performances and social events. Participants could participate for only one year prior to their deployment in the Operational Area (Choir began to recognise talent, 1988:4).



Figure 70: 2 SAI Battalion choir evening (Choir began to recognise talent, 1988:4).

Choirs could be seen to fulfil the same functions as bands. Stripped of the brass sounds and marching associated with military convention, they could emphasize the human dimension of soldiers and the military. It is therefore noteworthy that choirs sang at events and spaces such as churches, services and schools, which were less suitable to pomp and ceremony and more conducive to emotional and spiritual associations. It is the choir as military unit and in military uniform invoking the idea of the military effort that becomes the recognizable voice of a human need for communication. The military choir is therefore a unique example of how civilian society was encouraged to think of the soldier as an ordinary human being and as ‘one of us’ in touch with the vulnerable and aesthetic. If this was how communities reacted to choirs, it is likely that they could have extended these thoughts to other men in uniform, and to read the war effort as a superhuman one in which ordinary human beings like themselves were enlisted. The role of music to suggest this seems unparalleled.

7.3 Summary

As can be seen above, bands and choirs performed at concerts (also with symphony orchestras and for ballet and theatre productions), banquets, agricultural shows, educational outreach programmes, festivals, parades, memorials, sports meetings, for radio programmes, and as morale boosters and entertainment for the troops.³⁹² Yet all these functions seemed to be underscored by the need to convey a representation of the SADF, as portrayed in the titles such as ‘Orkeste van die Weermag dra beeld na buite’ [‘Bands of the SADF convey image to the outside world’] (1977:14-15). Racially joint band performances further provided an opportunity to convey the message of racial harmony and diversity in the SADF. Descriptions of events in public concert halls attended by important members of society projected the idea of timelessness, class and fine taste of the elite, suggesting the privileges associated with the SADF. Performances of civilian works and arrangements by military musicians ‘accentuat[ing] the military flavour of the programme’ (1977:14-15) also point to a level of militarisation where the soldier performing in a public space seemed to breach civilian boundaries.

³⁹² See also Imrie (1976:18-20, 38, 54, 60-62).

The timespan between the founding dates of the units and their respective bands and choirs is also an indication of the priority of music. The reader will notice that individual bands such as the SA Cape Corps, SA Army, SA Air Force, SA Navy and SAS Jalsena Bands, and choirs such as the South African Army Church Choir and Concert Group (The Canaries) and the 202 Battalion Choir (Kavango Choir) received considerable attention in *Paratus*. Taking into account that the overall contents in *Paratus* focuses mostly on white units and personalities, it is interesting to note that black and white bands received more or less an equal amount of coverage. This might have been a conscious effort by the SADF to focus on these bands, and perhaps in this, convey the apartheid construct of the musicality of black and coloured musicians. Considering this, Smit (1985:14-15), in his article on singing, differentiates between white, coloured and black singers leading him to the conclusion that members of the SA Cape Corps were natural musicians or singers, while white people still needed to learn that.³⁹³ These perceptions with regards to the musicality of ‘non-white’ people were apartheid constructs, and Van der Ross (1979:11-12) would point out that these kinds of statements were disingenuous because praise for ‘non-white’ people was rooted in a sense of guilt. This is indeed visible in various instances in *Paratus*, with statements related to the achievements of ‘non-white’ people. Reference in the *Paratus* issue of January 1981 further contributes to racial constructs pertaining Indian recruits through a description of SAS Jalsena’s mascot, ‘Pote’ [‘Paws’] as ‘rare breed of dog’ with a liking of Indian curry and of music, and dislike of civilian dress (It’s no dog’s life at SAS Jalsena, 1981:43). The reference to ‘rare breed’ assumes the ‘Other’, namely South African Indians, while ‘Pote’ being ‘no slouch’ further adds to the apartheid perception of ‘non-white’ people being lazy. The dislike of civilian dress implies a preference for the military. These comments suggest that, despite these racial and cultural differences, there is a place for everyone in the SADF.

The formation of homeland units and bands can also be seen as an extension of apartheid ideology, as these bands were trained by the SADF as part of its counterinsurgency strategy,

³⁹³ See also Imrie’s (1976:64) comment on Coloured people ‘Being a very musical people’. Interestingly, a comment by Peter Sinclair (1970:23) in the August issue of *Sechaba* seems to be very much in line with the topic as found in apartheid publications, as he would note that music ‘comes naturally to Africans’.

with the homelands serving as buffer states. It can be assumed that where music was present, it would have been based on SADF models. The instance of the propagandistic Venda Defence Force's song by Venda Roxley Masevhe as a 'friendly helping hand' to protect the people of Venda against the enemy (Venda Weermag vyf jaar oud: Voorste sanger prys weermag in lied, 1987:34), is a further illustration of the extension of apartheid ideology to the homelands.

Although articles featuring multi-racial performances were published in *Paratus*, promoting a multi-racial ideology, apartheid ideology was still maintained as the units were created in keeping with the racial divide. In this respect, using the medium of music, photographs of racially combined band performances may have been an effort to convey the message of the SADF as a multi-racial institution. Still, reportage in *Paratus* featuring apartheid constructs of race through commenting on achievements of 'non-white' units, gives the impression that the achievements were above the general expectations of mediocrity or failure. The stereotyping of black, coloured and Indian South Africans as being lazy and incompetent, is a contradiction, considering their high acclaim and popularity at various events, and their advanced musical skills, as read in *Paratus*. Yet, they were treated as second class citizens.

Although there is often a lack of detailed descriptions of concert performances, processions and parades in *Paratus*, one can still infer that music was an integral part of these events. It may well be that it was deemed unnecessary to elaborate on these aspects. But this does not mean that music was less important than the events where it featured.

8 Performing Artists

To the SADF, leisure activities, which included music, did not only serve to offer relaxation, but also presented an opportunity to inculcate a positive attitude towards National Service (Lötter, 1976b:23; Hierdie koor doen veel meer, 1981:81). This section focuses on individuals and groups from civilian and SADF ranks providing diverse kinds of music. Many of these performances took place under the auspices of the SADF's Leisure Time Utilisation Section in military bases, the border, towns and cities.³⁹⁴ Articles in *Commando* and *Paratus* varied from short notices to more in-depth narratives of these performances. I have included the names of performing artists, programmes and works in accordance with reportage in *Paratus* and *Commando*, and as they surfaced in interviews and secondary sources consulted for this study.

Interviews with former SADF soldiers indicated that performing artists often included Afrikaans artists such as Sias Reynecke (SADF Soldier 4, 2016) and Sonja Herholdt (SADF Soldiers 1 and 6, 2016), and that artists mainly performed at the main bases (Thorpe, 2016). Where distance played a role, leisure activities were arranged for National Servicemen on-site, illustrated by the example of CAPAB, which arranged 'plattelandse' ['country'] tours for students of the Military Academy in Saldanha. 1973 concerts at the Academy featured the CAPAB Orchestra (3 May), the De Groote Trio (6 June) and excerpts from operettas, performed by students themselves (12 July) (Fasiliteite vir vryetydsbesteding, 1974:45). The Military Academy furthermore received visits by the Drakensberg Boys' Choir, the Civil Defence College and the Wellington Teachers' Training College staff choir. At times, arranged by the SADF, Academy residents had the opportunity to see the operas *Aida*, *Madame Butterfly* and *La traviata*, and the ballet *Nongause* in Cape Town (1974:45). Performances staged by the SADF in concert halls included the SADF 75th anniversary concert 'Winners' at the Nico Malan Opera House in Cape Town in 1987 (Cohen, 1987a:48-49). A concert in Cape Town City Hall on 26 March 1976 included performances by the SA Army, Navy and Air Force Bands, together

³⁹⁴ An American equivalent of the SADF's Leisure Time Utilisation Section, for example, would be the United Service Organization (USO), which provided entertainment to soldiers in various countries (WWII USA Preservation Association, n.d.).

with the SADF Entertainment Group, which seemed to be a first for the SADF. The aim was to illustrate the collaboration amongst the various services, the aesthetic side of the SADF and the image of the SADF towards the public. Under the direction of Major Wijburg (Army), Commander Marlow (Navy), Major Griffiths (Air Force) and Major G.A. Hayden (SADF Entertainment Group), the 117-member group performed classical, jazz and light music in the presence of an ‘appreciative audience’, which included various high-ranking government officials, judges, teachers, clergy and businessmen. The evening closed with a performance of ‘Die Stem van Suid-Afrika’ (Lötter, 1976a:7-8). The performance by the SADF Entertainment Group, SADF Orchestra and the SA Air Force Orchestra in the Aula in Pretoria and in the presence of military and political dignitaries and their spouses,³⁹⁵ featured ‘classical’ music, military marches, traditional Afrikaans music, popular ballads and jazz. The proceedings ended, once again, with a performance of ‘Die Stem van Suid-Afrika’ (Strydom, 1975:20-21), suggesting that these were official (and patriotic) events. As these examples illustrate, militarisation was at work in such events specifically organized by the military. These were aimed at various strata of society inclusive of politicians, military officials, teachers, judges, clergy and the business sector. Civilian music, with a military sound, performed in civilian spaces such as the Cape Town City Hall and the Aula Theatre, directly linked these experiences with the military.

8.1.1 The SADF Entertainment Group

Following an account of the morale of the soldiers in general and in the context of the Union Defence Force (UDF) during the Second World war, Bantjés (1990:11-16) reports that it was no easy task to implement an entertainment group or unit for soldiers (1990:16). Differing entertainment preferences were evident as English performances made use of companies and decor from London, while Afrikaans performances favoured variety concerts and stage productions with local artists. Judging by examples in this study, this seems to have been a

³⁹⁵ Dignitaries included the Prime Minister (B.J. Vorster and Mrs Tini Vorster), the Minister of Defence (Mr P.W. Botha and Mrs Elize Botha) and the Head of the Army (Admiral H.H. Biermann and Mrs Peggy Biermann) (Strydom, 1975:20-21).

norm. Since no entertainment corps for the UDF had existed prior to 1939, variety concerts during the First World War were staged only in exceptional cases (1990:17). To counter the boredom amongst soldiers, official permission was eventually granted to establish a concert entertainment unit for the troops on 20 December 1940. By then already the types of entertainment included popular music, dance and comedy (1990:23-24), classical music, dance orchestras, mobile film theatres and sports events (1990:107-108). In order to avoid suspicion from political opposition groups the group functioned under the guise of the '19th Reserve Motor Transport Company'. They did, however, act as an emergency motor unit for which they actually received training. On the funny side, this had practical implications, causing confusion when ordering shields, spears, red jackets, straw hats, leopard skins, foot cymbals and other paraphernalia (1990:25-26).³⁹⁶ In the earlier days of the group, personalities such as Myles Esmond Bourke (first Entertainment Officer of the UDF) and Elsie Hall featured (Bantjés, 1990:26-27, 97-100), hinting at the kind of performances (genres) that were presented. According to Bantjés (1990:110-124), from earlier days already, performance groups were established along racial lines.³⁹⁷ The UDF Entertainment Unit was disbanded on 31 March 1946 (Bantjés, 1990:137).

Later efforts to revive the idea of an entertainment group stemmed from the realisation that the neglect of music appreciation and development could negatively influence troop morale. Yet, recognizing the value of such an entertainment group to provide relaxation for the soldiers, to create a sense of community and to boost troop morale this need was reconsidered. This led to the establishment of the SADF Entertainment Group in March 1971 as part of the Leisure Time Utilisation Section. Broadly, the Section promoted music through concerts, entertainment groups and bands, music and talent evenings, choir and singing evenings, performances at military functions and participation in prestige evenings. Apart from providing for relaxation and morale, these purposes served to recruit new people and to promote the image of the SADF (Fasiliteite vir vryetydsbesteding 1974:36). Under the direction of Captain Cecil John 'Tinker'

³⁹⁶ Bantjés (1990:26) refers to a document at the SANDF Document Centre, 'Court of Enquiry: Loss of equipment and costumes' of 9 April 1946.

³⁹⁷ See also the section on SADF Bands and choirs in this study.

Rhodes (Director of Music of the Entertainment Group), the aim was to have a full band, a pop group (two guitarists, an organist and drummer) as well as a dance group in the SADF Entertainment Group. A further plan was to establish a music school similar to Kneller Hall (the conservatoire of the British Defence Force), where soldiers were to be trained in the practical and theoretical aspects of music, up to university level (The SADF Entertainment Group announces a swinging time, 1971:62-63). The Group covered vast distances in South Africa, South West Africa, the border and various military bases, where they performed at military functions and variety concerts,³⁹⁸ (including performances with orchestras from the various military divisions) to convey a positive image of the SADF.³⁹⁹ Their performances extended beyond the normal repertoire to reach other audiences: the mass church service (10 000 attendees) at Loftus Versfeld Rugby Stadium during the Youth Year of 1985,⁴⁰⁰ hospitals,⁴⁰¹ and participants of debating competitions.⁴⁰² Interestingly, here one finds a popular music group under the auspices of the military, travelling extensively throughout the country and performing at civilian and military institutions. Whether dressed in military or civilian outfits, the military connection is still evident. In this respect the spectre of the military rises above the music and through the music, bridging the gap between the military and civilians. As part of the morale-boosting activity and recruitment drive, the Leisure Time Utilisation Section roped in a number of well-known civilian personalities, with 'a number of big names still clamouring to join the group' (SADF Entertainment Group, 1972:45).⁴⁰³ The SADF

³⁹⁸ See 'The SADF Entertainment Group announces a swinging time' (1971:62-63).

³⁹⁹ See 'Orkeste van die Weermag dra beeld na buite' (1977:14-15).

⁴⁰⁰ See 'Jeugjaar 85' (1985:14).

⁴⁰¹ See 'Stukkie van Parys kom na 1 Mil Hosp' (1989:10).

⁴⁰² See Janssen (1986:28).

⁴⁰³ Artists included guitarist Johnny Fourie, Geoff Sonn from the Hennie Baker group, trumpeter Gene Peterson, Jimmy Ritchie (also from the Al Debbo Show), singer Paula Krawitz, ventriloquist Dawn Berrange, pianist Dougie Finch, jazz guitarist John van Staden, ex-SABC Symphony Orchestra trombonist Mario Monteregee, guitarist Ricardo Bornman, saxophonist Cliff Cresswell, Ollie Caine, ex-SABC violinist Francesco Cignoli, jazz trombonist Vic Wilkinson (The SADF Entertainment Group announces a swinging time, 1971:62-64), ex-Durban trumpeter Alan Wright (The SADF Entertainment Group announces a swinging time, 1971:63-64; Roodt, 1985d:26), Hansel von Brughan (ex-lead trumpet of Minstrel Scandals and West Side Story), drummer Allan Heyes (The SADF Entertainment Group announces a swinging time, 1971:63-64), singer Jenny Canton, Jimmi Richie, Eddy Davey, ventriloquist Kevin Davey, trombonist George Sveboda, guitarist Neil Herbert (SADF Entertainment Group, 1972:44-45), Ilonka Biluska, pianist Wessel van Wyk (Variety concert by SADF Entertainment Group, 1973:45), Norman Scott (Roodt, 1985d:26-27; Troepe geniet 'n wenresep van vermaak,

Entertainment Corps in combination with civilian artists performed for the troops at Bourke's Luck Dog Centre, Phalaborwa and Messina as part of a week-long tour of various bases in the Northern Transvaal in 1981. The tour was coordinated by Major R. Roodt (Directorate Orientation Services). The band consisted of Permanent Force members, with singers Lance-corporal Gino Gambale from the Permanent Force and Sue Dale from the Entertainment Corps. Civilians included Durban-born-singer Jennifer Lessing [Jenna Lessing] and Sias Reinecke. The order of the evening included a rendition of pop songs by the band members of the SADF Entertainment Corps, and performances by Dale, Lessing and Reinecke. During the Messina part of the tour members of the Venda 112 Battalion performed traditional songs (Late-night applause at Bourke's Luck, 1981:44). Terms such as 'big names [...] clamouring to join the group' conveyed the idea of a popular SADF for which well-known personalities were willing to sacrifice anything to be associated with, and not necessarily a case of the SADF calling on these personalities to boost recruitment. This could also indicate that these performances were beneficial for artist and soldier alike. For artists, for example, it may have meant exposure, recognition and record sales, seeing that several artists released recordings with soldier topics (see Chapter Five). Thus, general military entertainment for soldiers to boost their morale to fight a border war was only one aspect of entertainment. Militarisation here is evident in that civilian performers were drawn to perform at military institutions, or where military staff performed at civilian events or in combination with civilian performers. The focus was not always on the performances themselves. These occasions at times prompted the media to attempt to prove that well-known personalities supported the SADF. Naturally, those who idolised these personalities would most likely have accepted these ideas in line with their political convictions.

1986:37), Radie Meyer and Seysie Marais, saxophonist Hymie Bylson, the Delia Sainsbury dancers, Buddy Slater, Stefaans Schoeman, singer Jerry Lottering (Roodt, 1985d:26-27), Pierre de Charmoy, Carla Carstens, Ian Lawrence (Wally from the television series, *The Villagers*), Schultz Swanepoel (Troepie geniet 'n wenreseps van vermaak, 1986:37), the Benadie brothers (Janssen, 1986:28), Jenna Lessing, André Schwartz, Laurence Hilton (Janssen, 1987c:44-45), Evan Schoombie, Michele Hill and Lizanne Barnard (Stukkies van Parys, 1989:10) (SADF Entertainment Group, 1972:45).

Variety concerts generally included singers, magicians, comedians, instrumentalists, ventriloquists, full band (Big Band) performances and, at times, foreign performing artists. Foreign artists included three Czechoslovakian sergeants performing with trombonist Sergeant George Sweboda, with his 'hilarious trombone antics' (SADF Entertainment Group, 1972:44-45), while the Dutch-born singer Ilonka Biluska 'entranced' the soldiers with her 'warmth and sensuality' (Variety concert by SADF Entertainment Group, 1973:44-45).⁴⁰⁴ The descriptions of these concert performances also indicate stereotypical gender roles through performance, where the men took on comic roles and the women were often associated with physical attractiveness. The content of the music programme for a tour to Oudtshoorn, Grahamstown and George (sponsored by Gunston Cigarettes) included cover versions of familiar songs and impersonations of popular performers, such as that of guitarist Sergeant Neil Herbert impersonating Welsh singer Tom Jones with the songs 'Las Vegas' and 'Love story', sentimental songs, such as Jenny Canton with 'Never ending song of love', and individual performers displaying their instrumental skills, such as Eddy Davey on the piano and trombonist Sgt George Sweboda (SADF Entertainment Group, 1972:44-45). Types of music included jazz, Big Band and Dixieland music, and light and popular classical piano pieces. Jenny Canton (photographed with pouting lips and a forlorn expression on her face) topped the list in popularity, while the George Civil Defence College's girls favoured Eddy Davey (SADF Entertainment Group, 1972:44-45). The 1985 Eastern Cape tour took the group for approximately two weeks to smaller towns such as Kirkwood, Port Elizabeth and Somerset East in a successful attempt to promote the SADF with the public. The rural areas heartily welcomed the performers with 'open arms' to extend real hospitality ['opregte plattelandse gasvryheid'] (Roodt, 1985e:26-27). From Roodt's description, one gets a glimpse of the intensity of being on the road as the group flew to Port Elizabeth for afternoon and evening performances, followed by a break, then on the road again for the rest of the tour, leaving for Somerset East. After lunch they had time to refresh themselves, after which they proceeded to the town hall where they were welcomed with a cocktail followed by a performance and a

⁴⁰⁴ The inclusion of Czechoslovakian personalities in this context may be an indication of individuals formerly oppressed by communist regimes, and now supporting the SADF.

barbecue (Roodt, 1985e:26-27). The group of 19 band members and four (female) Delia Sainsbury dancers were gratified to play in full venues to the extent that extra chairs were needed (Roodt, 1985e:26). Various tastes were catered for. The programme included a musical introduction, followed by a trumpet solo by Allan Wright, comedian and ventriloquist Norman Scott, who acted out army scenes, accordion and saxophone duos, jazz music (imitating Louis Armstrong), the Delia Sainsbury dancers (so admired by the troops) and concluded with 'Die Stem' (Roodt, 1985e:26-27). Full halls for these performances give an indication of their popularity amongst civilians and it could be an indication of how the military utilised civilian and military performers to gain more support. Concluding the evening with the National Anthem ('Die Stem') provided the official, patriotic undertone. The line-up for a concert in Bloemfontein in 1986 included popular songs performed by the SADF Entertainment Group (Elton John's 'Nikita'), actor Ian Lawrence as host, and again comedian and ventriloquist Norman Scott acting out snapshots from army life. Performing artists Pierre de Charmoy and Carla Carstens ('something for the eye' who had the male audience 'at her feet') (Troepe geniet 'n wenresep van vermaak, 1986:37) performed during the second half of the programme. As with the event at Bourke's Luck, referred to above (Late-night applause at Bourke's Luck, 1981:44), this event was also sponsored by a cigarette company [Gunston], which supplied products to the troops for the evening (Troepe geniet 'n wenresep van vermaak, 1986:37). The sponsorship of the cigarette company for a military event illustrates the level of militarisation of society through private business sector involvement. Write-ups in *Paratus* indicate that women performers were mostly popular in these varied programmes. The inclusion of male artists such as Pierre de Charmoy (favoured by women) at concerts arranged by the military, served most likely to create an awareness of the SADF amongst civilian women to gain their support. The association of famous names with the SADF in *Paratus* and *Commando* is a strategy of the SADF to indicate that performers of high acclaim supported the military. Although these performances may mostly be associated with building troop morale, they equally served as tool for militarisation by showing that civilians (represented by the performers) cared for the military, thereby setting an example to civilians to support the military.

Bases that were visited during the 1987 tour included Rooikop Air Force Base (700 troops), Grootfontein, Ondangwa, Rundu and Katima Mulilo. Two hours of entertainment included covers of popular songs ('Lady in red', 'Walk like an Egyptian'), master of ceremonies

Laurence Hilton's skits on famous musicians, a dance show by girls from the Dance Workshop, who performed the 'Can-Can' and a 'Flink dink' competition where troops could win prizes from the commercial enterprises Winston and Captain Morgan. The tour party included five cabaret dancers from the Dance Workshop, Jenna Lessing, André Schwartz (then a lieutenant), two journalists, a lighting technician, a master of ceremonies, sponsors (Winston and Captain Morgan) and organisers (Janssen, 1987c:44). Laurence Hilton's skits 'proved to be especially popular', while the "bottoms up" at the end of the 'Can-Can' (an all-time favourite) always got the "thumbs-up". Jenna Lessing, an old hand at these tours, would call a soldier onto the stage, talk with him and give him a kiss, with his 'envious friends' cheering and whistling. Rundu's enthusiastic audience were dancing from the beginning, shouting encores at the end of the concert. All these acts were accompanied by the SADF Entertainment Group Band: Howie Jones (drums), Ralph Stafford (bass), 'Schultz' Swanepoel (vocals and trumpet) and Gerrit van Wyk (keyboards). The final concert took place at Katima Mulilo, where the Lieutenant-general Denis Earp (Chief of the SA Air Force) and his spouse, Mrs Beth Earp, attended the performance. Finally, at the end of it all, the 'slightly tired' tour party was taken onto a barge on the Zambezi River to enjoy a champagne breakfast and a barbecue later. Reflecting upon a successful tour, the phrase, 'For united we stand, divided we fall' lingered in the minds of the touring party (Janssen, 1987c:44-45). The description of the 1987 tour drew on feelings of nostalgia, which is usually associated with the positive. The description of these experiences created a sense of longing, and in this instance, a longing associated with the SADF and a perceived idyllic environment where the visitors never actively saw the war or the enemy, and that the war, in their mind, was a good thing.

8.1.2 David Song Group

Similar to the example of the SADF Entertainment Group, the David song group, hailing from military ranks, also toured the country extensively whilst performing to military and civilian audiences. Gospel music, which was listened to by civilians, now became important to the military. Their performances of gospel music, which was close to the hearts of South African civilians, may have assisted the military in gaining support from civilians by conflating the military agenda with a Christian message. The David Song Group, under the protection of the Head of the Army and under the direction of the Chaplains' Service: Army consisted of National Servicemen who aimed to promote contemporary Christian music amongst the youth.

Their repertoire of accompanied Afrikaans and English songs also included their own compositions. Performances took place at schools, universities, colleges,⁴⁰⁵ churches of various Christian denominations (Thorpe, 1988:33) and public spaces (David Song Group on square, 1989:17). In addition to live public performances, the group released four commercially successful recordings, performed on the television programme *Kruis en Kroniek*, and for the State President (Thorpe, 1988:33). Some indication of the effect of music on the morale of the soldiers was evident in a change of attitude from disheartenedness to hopefulness amongst those who attended their performances (1988:33).

The photographs below show the David Song Group with the State President and his family in 1988 (Thorpe, 1988:33) and during a performance at J.G. Strijdom Square in Pretoria in 1989 (David Song Group on Square, 1989:17). In the captions to these photographs one notices a rotation of names suggesting that members may have been replaced as National Servicemen finished their two-year stints. Although individuals in this group may have had the conviction to spread the Gospel, the framing of the group took place in the context of a more narrowly defined Christian Nationalism, to which the apartheid government subscribed. This is evident in the photographs as they are seen with the State President P.W. Botha and performing next to a large statue of apartheid politician J.G. Strijdom. Staging Gospel performances demonstrates how Christianity expressed through the vehicle of Gospel music was used for political gain.

[Photograph on next page]

⁴⁰⁵ The December 1988 of *Paratus* extended an invitation to interested graduates to join the group (Thorpe, 1988:33).



Figure 71: The David Song Group with the State President and family (Thorpe, 1988:33).



Figure 72: The David Song Group at the J.G. Strijdom Square in Pretoria (David Song Group on square, 1989:17).

8.1.3 Frontier

‘Frontier’ (founded in 1985), which consisted of six experienced members from 6 SA Infantry Battalion, Eastern Province Command (Roodt, 1986b:28), received substantial coverage in *Paratus*. The name of this ‘full-blood military group’ (Frontiers kry kans om grens te besoek, 1986:12) references the Border War. The band went through multiple rotations based on the length of the period of National Service by the individual members. Frontier 1 was conceptualised in 1984 (toured the border for 12 days), while Frontier 2 also performed on radio, television and at the Dias Festival in Alexandria; and Frontier 3 participated in the Eisteddfod at the Settlers Memorial in Grahamstown, winning the ‘Shell Road to Fame’ competition in the Eastern Cape (De Bruyn, 1989:36-37).⁴⁰⁶ They further obtained recognition from the Head of the SADF (General Jannie Geldenhuys), Commanders of Sector 70, 6 SAI Training Unit and Logistics, Pretoria, and officers of the Caprivi (De Bruyn, 1989:37). The caption, ‘beteken baie vir hulle eenheid’ [‘meaning a lot for their unit’] (Roodt, 1986b:28-29) in Figure 73 indicates that they were successful in meeting their underlying purpose of boosting morale and enhancing the image of the SADF. Repertoire included modern, country music and ‘boeremusiek’, in line with the tastes of their audiences (Burger, 1986:57). The January 1986 issue of *Paratus* reported a possibility of a recording for which an SABC recording studio was to be made available for an initial recording with new original songs, including the song ‘Sundowner’. Remuneration for the group was channelled to a fund for troops in their unit (Roodt, 1986b:29).

[Photographs on next page]

⁴⁰⁶ The numbers Frontier 1 to 3 represent each generation of the band.



Figure 73: Frontier (Roodt, 1986b:29).

Their aspiration to visit the border in January 1986 to entertain the troops there (Roodt, 1986b:29) became reality later in the same year. On 3 May (Burger, 1986:57), their successful tour started at Grootfontein, followed by places such as Mangetti, Rundu, Napara and Otavi, where they were received with ‘open arms’.⁴⁰⁷ Visits to the Border were at times described in nostalgic terms, such as leaving the border ‘tearfully’ (Frontiers kry kans om grens te besoek, 1986:12). Having had the ‘privilege’ to visit the Operational Area, they also performed to ‘Bushmen in Bushmanland’ (1986:12).⁴⁰⁸ It is interesting to note the emphasis that visits to Bushman bases in the Operational Area received in *Paratus* (also seen in this study). This performance, as part of SADF propaganda, can be seen as giving recognition to these ‘trackers’ defeating the enemy. The photograph below depicts the group stationed on a military vehicle as stage performing in front of ‘Bushman’ children, which gives a visual representation of make-shift stage props. No information was given about the repertoire. The performance for the ‘Bushman

⁴⁰⁷ From band founding member Johan Burger’s (1986:57) correspondence thanking the SADF’s Leisure Time Utilisation Section staff in Pretoria and *Paratus* for the opportunity of the border tour, it is evident that the tour was arranged in a short period of time.

⁴⁰⁸ The June 1989 issue of *Paratus* again made particular mention of performing to the ‘Bushmen in Bushmanland’ (De Bruyn, 1989:36).



Figure 74: Frontier in 'Bushmanland' (Frontiers kry kans om grens te besoek, 1986:12).

Considering the coverage that this band received in *Paratus*, the question remains whether their impact was a result of the coverage that they received, perhaps as instrument of the apartheid government and SADF, or whether this impact was related to the quality of their performances or both.

8.1.4 Individual SADF performers

Well-known and lesser-known artists of various music genres passed through the SADF, either as active conscripts or as visitors, some of whom made it to various parts of the world. Examples included Private Daffue's participation in a dancing competition in Miami (Miami, here I come, 1982:77) and Warrant Officer S.V.C. Murray of the SA Navy Band with his recordings, appearances on radio and television, and providing entertainment to senior SADF staff and top government officials (He has played music in every sphere, 1981:76). These are examples of the intertwining boundaries between the military and civilian spheres, with military staff participating in civilian competitions. The talents of many were recognised, for example, Privates A.L. Adams and R.W. Gilfillan, who provided background violin and keyboard music to meals at the Elandsfontein Caterers' School with a repertoire of classics and contemporary music such as *Ipi Tombi* (Music while you eat, 1983:35) and Private Bruce

Marais's achievement at a piping competition (Pte Bruce Marais takes top honours with bagpipes, 1983:17). The performance of *Ipi Tombi* was noted in *Sechaba* as a misrepresentation (with the costumes and articulation) and exploitation of African culture by the apartheid regime (Culture and revolution, 1980:23). *Paratus* also featured the family of Brigadier Shylock Mulder, who successfully produced recordings of liturgical and light folk music in various languages and who performed for television, at concerts, weddings and for radio services such as Radio Kansel [Radio Pulpit] (Broers wil oorsee sing, 1985:63). Air Force soldier and singer Maj Johan Smit (SA Air Force), who had performed since the 1970s, released a record with a theme song, 'Vasbyt vir ons land' ['Endurance for our country'], dedicated to the defenders of the country (Furter, 1988:35):

Vasbyt is ons leuse, die Vryheid is ons keuse,

vasbyt vir ons land, hier tot Suiderstrand.

[...]

vir ons land, ons EIE Suiderland!⁴⁰⁹

Furter (1988:35) described the lyrics as typifying the healthy morale required for the time it was written in and how singing evenings arranged by Maj Smit contributed to boosting morale during this time. 'Vasbyt', an expression of endurance used in the Army, was extended to apply to civilians by means of the recording, suggesting that soldiers and civilians were equally involved in the endurance of the struggle to maintain freedom from a perceived enemy. At the same time, it also emphasized the trials soldiers endured for the defence of the country against communism. 'Ons land' [Our land] and 'EIE Suiderland' [our OWN Southern Land] refer to a specific geographical space (South Africa) reserved for a ruling (white) minority. Appropriately, the recording was obtainable from 'Vasbyt-musiekkorporasie Bpk' in Verwoerdburg.

⁴⁰⁹ Translation by author: 'Endurance is our motto, Freedom is our choice, / endurance for our country, here until Suiderstrand. [...] for our country, our OWN Southern Land!'

8.2 Stars, popular personalities

Accounts of performances by well-known artists mostly appeared as incidental remarks in general literature on the Border War. Bothma (2009:101-103) writes about casual music performances by soldiers in the base as well as arranged entertainment by performers from outside, which included Lauren Copley ('Mammy blue') at Mpacha, comedian Pip Friedman of Springbok Radio (*Gatiep and Meraai* stories), Groep Twee and the SADF Entertainment Band. From interviews with soldiers, Morrow (2009:82-83) lists performers such as Des and Dawn Lindberg, Billy Forrest, Sonja Herholdt, Min Shaw and Gert Potgieter. Many songs were in Afrikaans ('Dutchies') and included some specifically for the soldiers (such as Sonja Herholdt's 'Ek verlang na jou'). Later years also featured performances by Four Jacks and a Jill, some New Zealand bands (the Double Visions and the Green Stones), Teddy Piero and comedian Dennis McLean ('Four Jacks and a Jill' vermaak soldate, 1972:64). On Thursday 26 February 1970 singer Monica van der Westhuizen, 'die kleine' Mathilda [the young Matilda] with her tap dancing and comedian Piet Stanton entertained ['vergas'] a full Pretoria (Voortrekkerhoogte) City Hall audience of 1 400 shouting and whistling men calling for encores. Piet Stanton provided jokes and comic songs, while Monica van der Westhuizen, who had the soldiers clapping and singing along, was called back to the stage repeatedly with thunderous applause (Van der Westhuizen, 1970:73). Phraseology such as 'whistling men', 'thunderous applause' provide some idea of reception and soldier conduct, implying that soldiers have the ability to exhibit raucous behaviour. In contrast, the description in *Paratus* avoids that kind of detail. Given the admiration of female artists, it is not unusual to read passing remarks or to find photographs that single out the performances by women, for example, the performance at the border by Zona Visser (arranged by the SADF's Leisure Time Utilisation Section), who also performed in Vietnam and various other parts of the world ('n Gelukkige vol lewe, 1971:77) and a photograph of the Stockley Sisters (Miriam and Avryl) 'definitely the "Forces Favourites"' captioned, 'An extra for *Paratus* readers this month – not one, but two backpage beauties!' (1977:iii). Here, the objectification of women over talent is evident as no mention is made of the actual performances by the Stockley Sisters.

Name-dropping of familiar personalities associated with the military through active conscription, performances for the military or composing songs with military topics boosted the credibility of the SADF and war effort. With this in mind, these attempts were publicised

in *Paratus*. In trying to portray the SADF in a positive light, details of famous personalities who were former conscripts were also publicised regarding their positive experiences whilst in the SADF. One such example included a name in the broadcasting industry, Karl Kikillus (Springbok Radio), who studied at the Military Academy, and who had a short career in the Permanent Force and a position at the Johannesburg War Museum (Former SAAF pilot presents TV's Pop Shop. 1981:47). This made the SADF seem like a place where unique experiences were to be had. *Paratus* further boasted the achievements of musician Coenie de Villiers, conscripted after his studies. The emphasis on Afrikaans music styles and new directions in Afrikaans music (Koos du Plessis, Louis van Rensburg and Clarabelle van Niekerk) seemed to reinforce certain ideas of Afrikaans culture and history. De Villiers, who released a debut single, *Tyd vir dankie sê*, also made mention of the SADF's viewpoint not to limit talent (music), but rather to promote it (This is one soldier who likes to sing, 1980:8, 27). Another name in the Afrikaans music scene included Bless Bridges, who composed from his own perspective as former conscript. He produced songs with SADF themes such as 'Onbekende Weermagman', 'Ry hom nie verby nie' and 'Koerantverkopertjie'. 'Weermagman' and 'Koerantverkopertjie' were top hits in 1983 (Gewese troepie ontpop in gewilde sanger, 1984:22). The heading, 'Gewese troepie ontpop in gewilde sanger' ['Former troopie becomes famous singer'], suggests that the SADF played a role in raising this famous singer. 'Ry hom nie verby nie' ['Pass him not by'] (Bridges, 2018) starts with a brass introduction in fanfare-like style. The text addresses the soldier standing next to the road in the cold and rain, travelling home from the border. As he defended the country ('Volk en Vaderland') and the lives of citizens, citizens were urged to consider giving him a lift and even accommodation, irrespective of whether they knew him or not.⁴¹⁰ The call for society to plough back their gratitude into the military was also illustrated by singer Sias Reynecke, who visited the Operational Area on occasion, regarding it as 'the least he [could] do in return' for the troops defending the country (Late-night applause at Bourke's Luck, 1981:44). This set an example for civilians to do their part in supporting the SADF. Comedian Al Debbo, another favourite, performed with singer ['sangeressie'] Joanna Field for new recruits at the Air Force Gymnasium at Valhalla in 1982 (Al en Joanna vermaak

⁴¹⁰ A number of these songs can be heard via *YouTube*.

Dienspligtiges, 1982:70) and later in the same year, for the SA Navy Ladies' Club, together with the SADF Entertainment Group, where women from the private sector were also welcomed (Al Debbo entertains at tea party, 1982:60). In August 1982, at an occasion where a message was delivered about the involvement of women in the war effort, the Air Force Ladies' Association hosted singer ['sangeressie'] Anneli van Rooyen who sang to the elderly (Anneli sing vir bejaardes, 1982:71). The use of the diminutive 'sangeressie' in the instances of Joanna Field and Anneli van Rooyen was a patronising way of referring to women artists. In the military, which was predominantly a male-dominated area, this was a manner of objectifying women. When singer Carike Keuzenkamp visited the Recovery Wing of 1 Military Hospital, she donated a recording to Mrs Hester Zietsman, who broadcast an in-house request programme. Included in this visit was a tea reception for which the Southern Cross Fund provided the refreshments (Carike Keuzenkamp visits recovery wing, 1984:18).



Figure 75: Carike Keuzenkamp (with guitar) at the Recovery Wing of 1 Military Hospital.

(Carike Keuzenkamp visits recovery wing, 1984:18).

The May 1983 issue of *Paratus* noted a performance by Tommy Oliver, Maritza, Al Debbo and the José Montoya dancers who performed at the Voortrekkerhoogte Town Hall to soldiers at the Air Force Gymnasium after their basic training and before their first weekend pass. This created the impression that the troops were 'thought of and loved', and their morale boosted as they could not defend the country if they felt 'downhearted'. Generally, performers appeared

to be contented with performing to the troops, judging from remarks such as ‘contribut[ing] to the man in uniform’ and the SADF having a ‘special place in [the] heart’. The song, ‘The SAAF men’, written by Maj Smit, was performed on this occasion (Concert proves that the SAAF loves its troopies, 1983:10). Further variety included dancing, of which a popular form in the 1980s seems to have been Spanish dancing. *Paratus* reported on the performances of both the Wilkarina Spanish Dancing Company (SAW se gasvryheid en Kaap nie gou vergete, 1984:74-75) and the Montoya duo. Jose and Helena Montoya were invited on a number of occasions by the SADF entertainment Group to perform in the Operational Area to boost troop morale and to promote the arts to those in uniform. This even meant that Spanish dances had to take place with ‘sakkie-sakkie-boeremusiek’, as requested once during such a visit. Naturally, male performers spoke from the vantage point as former conscripts, as in the case of Jose Montoya (Jansen van Rensburg, 1985b:4-5).

Major Nico van Rensburg with his concertina was another SADF personality who gained fame via broadcasting. Descriptions in *Paratus* included words such as ‘gesellige kuermense [...] boeremense’ [‘hearty and friendly rural people’], stating that ‘boeremusiek’ (a form of South African folk music) was inherently part of Afrikaner culture. More constituents of Afrikaner culture included ‘moskonfyt, boeretroos en biltong – ons eie’ [‘grape syrup, coffee and biltong – our own’] (Van der Walt, 1985:26). As these ingredients formed part of the construction of Afrikaner identity. The SADF utilised them to create a sense of synergy amongst Afrikaans-speaking people in the SADF. Van Rensburg, who had a son following in his footsteps in terms of musical performance and skill, produced numerous recordings (more than 55), visited the border and arranged the first border tour to entertain the troops, for which he bought instruments, sponsored by the Southern Cross Fund (Janssen, 1987a:21). Staff Sergeant Vleisie van Rensburg (leader of his band, ‘Anonymous’), who also performed in the Air Force and Prison Service Bands and who issued his first recording in 1970, was another personality who was given some coverage in *Paratus* (Van de Venter, 1987d:29). The name of the band, ‘Anonymous’, reminds listeners of songs for the ‘unknown soldier’, or perhaps evokes the phrase ‘somewhere on the border’, which conveys some anonymity. These songs referred to the soldier whose name was not known. This in itself bordered on the mysterious, thus seeing the border and the soldier defending the border as mysterious, almost mythical, entities. On the popular music front, *Paratus* boasted about the SADF’s ‘good grounding for his fame’ with former NSM Trevor Rabin from the groups ‘YES’ and ‘Rabbit’. Both Rabin’s parents were in

the Entertainment Corps during World War II, and he joined the Entertainment Corps in Pretoria years later, where he played in the SADF rock band which toured the country and the border (Katz, 1985:56-57).

These examples of well-known civilian artists performing to the soldiers demonstrate two basic reasons: building morale and thanking troops for their part in defending the country. This use of well-known artists to illustrate the value of conscription would have had far-reaching effects on these artists' followers and it is likely that that may have created a desire to copy their idols. Arranging entertainment for troops in a war situation is not a new phenomenon. The question here is one of context and whether the individual performers condoned the war effort or not and how the state used these situations to advance its militaristic agenda. Many will indeed have believed that there was a threat and that they were supporting a good cause.

Paratus made mention of all these types of music from 'boeremusiek' and popular music to Western art music, reinforcing the contribution of the SADF to the development of the careers of individuals. Private Bernard Margolis (singer), performer for the Cape Performing Arts Board (CAPAB) and former part-time student of the University of Cape Town's (UCT) College of Music, who obtained a Performers' Diploma in Opera at the Opera School, continued with his National Service after his graduation. Positioned in the Army Public Relations division, he organised and performed in musical galas and SADF films, preparing him for a future career (NSM of the month: Singing in SADF makes him happy, 1985:61). In both the instances of Bernard Margolis and Maj Nico van Rensburg, there seemed to be an awareness of the need for attracting the younger generations and preserving their art forms for posterity. The SADF again capitalised on the opportunity by including the successes of National Serviceman and Baritone André Howard in *Paratus*, following his first place as the only South African in the Second International Singing Competition in Pretoria. Part and parcel of the package of successes was the inclusion of performances at PACT, the production of SABC recordings, and attending competitions in Europe in 1984. Starting with his National Service after his return to South Africa, Howard participated in various creative endeavours in the SADF, which included his role as compiler of the programme for the Army gala evening in 1985, singing, dancing, and as choir master of 10 Artillery Brigade. *Paratus* frequently published comments on the hard work of musicians and the mostly 'appreciative' audiences (Van der Walt, 1986:65). These comments created the idea that music was mostly to be 'appreciated', not as an inherent part

of army life, but as secondary to army life. The use of 'Afrikaans culture' images and objects brought something close to the hearts to win the favour of some. In a similar way, one could also refer to the use of certain 'images' of war to invoke a kind of 'old worldly' war nostalgia. The June 1986 issue of *Paratus* did exactly this with an article on 'lady in white' Pearla Siedle Gibson (daughter of prominent Durban personalities, Otto and Amelia Siedle), who sang to soldiers passing through Durban on their way to various destinations during World War II. The reader was also made aware of an exhibition of her artwork and paraphernalia at the Durban Playhouse (McMillan, 1986b:50-51).

Mauritian-French country rock musician Pierre de Charmoy expressed the view that his training in Communications in the Signal Corps, Heidelberg helped him with his song writing. The song, *Live on*, composed during his Army days, seemed to have had some significance in terms of his time in the Operational Area ('a time of emotional adaptation and change') where he could write from his personal experience as National Serviceman (Behr, 1986:69). *Rixaka* (Briefs, 1986:40) referred to De Charmoy's 'pro-SADF soliloquy' where he was 'waxing nostalgic' about his creativity stimulated by his time on the border, encouraging readers to boycott him. Post-National Service, his career took off rapidly, and he later received Sarie Awards as well as an award for 'Best Male Vocalist' (1984) for his album, *Reaching out*. He performed for National Servicemen on the border (together with other artists), for fund raising concerts for the SADF and at concerts attended by the Minister of Defence (General Magnus Malan), recognising the morale building aspect of music (Behr, 1986:69). *Paratus* reported on a concert performance by Pierre de Charmoy, Carla Carstens and various other personalities, and elaborated primarily on the variety of the programme. With several lines dedicated to the main artist Pierre de Charmoy, it recognised De Charmoy's contribution as top male singer delivering an astounding performance (Troepe geniet 'n wenresep van vermaak, 1986:37). Because an attempt was made to include all participating performers (1986:37), it is unusual that no details of the famous main artist's repertoire were given. In an interview, Paul Morris (2017) recalled returning from strenuous training to their base at Lohatla in the Northern Cape, looking forward to a time of rest. This, however, changed as those of higher rank ordered them to attend a Piere de Charmoy concert, travelling by truck to a veld with a stage set up. They were unhappy about being denied the luxury of relaxation in exchange for a concert by an artist who was preferred more by the girlfriends than by the soldiers. After a long period of waiting, a Master of Ceremonies stated how happy they were to entertain the troops at Christmas time,

which left the troops even more agitated as this special ‘Christmas’ show took place around September or October. This propaganda exercise was to be broadcasted on ‘Christmas’ to show parents at home that the SADF cared for their sons. The De Charmoy concert soon came to an end as a soldier set off a smoke bomb (Morris, 2017). The arrangement of this concert appears to have been a mismatch between what music troops would have preferred listening to as opposed to what was presented, to the detriment of the performer. Although the hostility was most likely not directed at the Pierre de Charmoy personally, this occasion appears as a form of resistance (a kind of inner muttering) to their circumstances and also towards those of rank representing the system and conscription.⁴¹¹ A further example of this kind of mismatch surfaced when a Gospel performance was arranged for men who ‘[had not] seen a woman for months [...]’, where the singer left the stage as a result of repulsive behaviour from the audience, a ‘stupid thing to do’ (Morris, 2017). Based on my information on these two instances, I posed a question to Karin Hougaard as experienced female performing artist who visited the border on a number of occasions to find out about her experiences in this particular regard. From her response it is clear that this type of behaviour was to be expected and that gender played a role. What diffused the situation for Hougaard was that she was modestly dressed, but that she was accompanied by dancers in skimpy clothing. Hougaard also mentioned that her music and the manner in which she presented herself did not draw unwelcome comments (Hougaard, 2017). Taking Morris’s expression of utter disgust into account, as well as Hougaard’s comment about behaviour that is to be expected (suggesting that she was prepared for this kind of behaviour), it is again evident that a performance that

⁴¹¹ From interview and questionnaire respondents, certain topics surfaced, where music served as vehicle to express feelings. Song themes broadly addressed authority (SADF Soldier 1, 2016), protest (Thorpe, 2016; SADF Soldier 1, 2016), entertainment (De Ruig, 2016), relaxation (Hare, 2016), Conditions of service (Harvey, 2016; Thorpe, 2016; SADF Soldier 4, 2016) and civilian life (SADF Soldier 6, 2016). The place music seemed to have was ‘everything’ (SADF Soldier 1, 2016), while it also assisted to relate to one’s situation (SADF Soldier 4, 2016), or aided to create a sense of patriotism (SADF Soldier 4, 2016) and nostalgia (SADF Soldier 6, 2016), or provided a relief from boredom (SADF Soldier 5, 2016), or merely for enjoyment and relaxation (Pretorius, 2016; SADF Soldiers 6 and 7, 2016), as escapist tool and as tool to reconnect with what was regarded as normal (Thorpe, 2016). A song addressing circumstances in the Army was Leon Schuster’s ‘Ag man, dis lekker in die Army’, to which soldiers could relate, but which also had the potential to have a demoralising effect on soldiers (Van der Merwe, 2017). This also ties in with Morrow’s (2009:57, 69) category of soldiers who were conscripted, yet with a certain degree of resistance, and where music served as vehicle to communicate their feelings.

was not well thought through (confirmed by Morris, 2017) took place to the detriment of the Gospel music performer. These examples, taken from the interviews with Morris (2017) and Hougaard (2017), give an indication of the reception of certain music and events by soldiers, the disenchantment with some of these events and the crude behaviour that soldiers were able to exhibit. No mention was made of this kind of behaviour in *Paratus*. Instead, as propaganda magazine, *Paratus* created a polished and wholesome image of the soldier by focusing on the performers, civilian attendees, the enjoyment by the soldiers and occasionally the repertoire.

Paratus further capitalised on the successes of singers Innes and Franna Benade, who made their debut on the TV talent programme, 'Debuut', earning them a recording contract and their own TV programme.⁴¹² The Benade Brothers also performed at the SA Army debating competition, held in the Old Mutual Hall at Unisa (Janssen, 1986:28). *Paratus* also made mention of National Serviceman Innes Benade's career in the SADF (and how the SADF accommodated him), which included a stint as conductor of the Chaplains' choir, and border duty, which made a good impression on him. National Service for Franna Benade, who was regarded as the best National Serviceman of the 1983 intake, also had a positive influence on him as he wrote a song for his unit and trained a choir. Besides wanting to show through their music that Afrikaans-speaking people were able to appreciate their language, they issued a recording, *Ek weet ek kan* ['I know I can'], which also incorporated Army-themed songs that featured on request programmes (Blom, 1987b:36-37). Based on the association with performers and the apparently good influence the Army had on them, singer, songwriter, music promoter and TV personality Phillip Kotze, who exchanged his 'silk shirts and pointed shoes' for 'overalls and marching boots', apparently found the 'Army haircut to be a great leveller'. His comparison between the 'stringent Army training', which was 'a far cry from his usual vocal cord exercising sessions' gave the impression that the Army training took far more discipline than his music training did. He performed, together with his wife Ella, for the Free State Command's Women's Association annual general meeting (Davies, 1988a:23). Famous singers André Schwartz, Karin Hougaard and Hennie Smit also performed during a concert at

⁴¹² Further successes included the 1985 ATKV *Crescendo* competition and the *Nasionale Vryburger* song competition in 1986 (Janssen, 1986:28).

1 Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte for the South African Health Services' (SAHS) Harmonia project, aimed at establishing group synergy and opportunities for relaxation by promoting spontaneous singing amongst members of the SAHS. To aid the spontaneous singing, a songbook, which was also to be distributed among all the population groups, denominations and languages in the SAHS, was produced, containing Afrikaans and English light music, folk music and spiritual music (Hattingh, 1989c:17). In 1988 some 2 000 students from the University of the Free State attended a music evening presented by the Free State University Students Representative Council for Dialogue and Media, as well as by 'Kovsie-Kultuur' ('Kovsie Culture'), where artists such as Anneli van Rooyen, Louis van Rensburg, Andre Schwartz, Trevor Nasser and Hennie Smith, as master of ceremonies, featured. The evening aimed to indicate a measure of trust in the SADF to General Jannie Geldenhuys, the Head of the SADF, (Davies, 1988b:52), who was present at the proceedings.

A photograph of David Kramer posing with members of 'Bushmen' 201 Battalion soccer team in the November issue of *Paratus* was criticised by *Rixaka*, expressing their discontent with Kramer (Briefs, 1986:40). This was related to a tour to the Witwatersrand area, a part of which included a performance by David Kramer. The overall idea of the tour was to expose members of the Battalion to 'Western civilization' (Grabman, 1985:48-49; Uys, 1993:157-158). The fact that Kramer featured in an article published in an SADF propaganda magazine which described the 'Bushmen' 201 Battalion's exposure to 'Western civilization' gives the impression that he endorsed the apartheid notion of 'non-white' people being uneducated.

8.3 Drama and cabaret

Performances for the SADF spanned across the arts, including drama and cabaret. Arranged by the SADF's Leisure Time Utilisation Section, and sponsored by Volkswagen (South Africa), a drama company from the Performing Arts Council Transvaal (PACT) visited the border and military bases with the light dance and music production, *Fantasticks*. Performers included Nicholas Ellenbogen, Jan Engelen, Will Bernard, Frantz Dobrowsky, stage director Jackie

Cook, Sue Kriel, Eckard Rabe, Tobias Cronjé, Marco van der Colff and Nigel Vermaas (Toneelgroep besoek grens, 1972:41).⁴¹³

Cabaret performances also seemed to hold a specific place in the SADF entertainment diary. At a ball in Port Elizabeth in aid of the Army Fund, Pip Freedman presented a cabaret show, while the SA Army Band provided the music (Deftige bal in PE aangebied, 1981:59). During a parents' day in 1987, and as part of the SADF 75th anniversary, as well the fifth birthday of the Hospital, a cabaret show was arranged by the Public Relations Division of I Military Hospital, featuring a variety of well-known personalities: Anne Power (co-presenter of the TV programme, 'Take a Break'), Lorna Greeff and Sandy Dyer ('Body Beat'), disco champion Private Frank Ferreira, PACT dancer Corporal Frikkie Schoeman, SABC's Wally Green (choreographer) and director Nico Basson. The Chamber of Mines donated money towards the cabaret (Van Wyk, 1987:22-23). The cabaret group 'Galaxy 80' (based in Durban) performed in support of charities, which also included the Southern Cross Fund. They also raised money for the MOTHS and the Rhodesian Border Patrol Fund upon the outbreak of the war in Rhodesia and performed on the border to boost soldiers' morale. Their programme included sketches on the Roaring 20s, the Wartime 40s, the Frolicking 50s and the Swinging 60s ('Galaxy 80' at Natal Command, 1981:50). These examples all indicate the involvement of well-known civilians and civilian institutions in military circles. Again, sponsorships from the private business sector buying into the military and support by civilian professionals generated the success of these performances, giving more credence to the military's ideologies.

8.4 Logistics and facilities

What often does not appear in publications are the descriptions of the tour logistics, stage props or décor. Janssen (1987c:44) fills in many of the details, providing a sense of the laborious

⁴¹³ In drama circles, certain well-known personalities were also highlighted in issues of *Paratus*. One example included that Private Hennie Baird, the author of the play, *En dit was môre*, and director Marthinus Basson (also known for his television work at the SABC and as member of the Nico Malan Drama Company), who also sang in the *Canaries*. Mention was also made of policy in the Army to use National Servicemen as far as possible in their professional capacities. So, it turned out that Baird was sent to SAW KOLOT to produce educational film scripts (Cronjé, 1986c:60-61).

unpacking and packing up during these tours, providing details on curtains and colourful lights, and in the absence of a hall, a converted aircraft hangar with trucks covered with metal plates to serve as makeshift stages (1987c:44). From the perspective of the Entertainment Corps (who also visited the Operational area on numerous occasions), as conveyed through group leader Sergeant Shaun Vermaak, one gets a glimpse into the hard work of the performers who rehearsed days beforehand, to provide for a variety of tastes. Yet, those expectations were not always fully met (Late-night applause at Bourke's Luck, 1981:44). Karin Hougaard (2017) provided further details on logistics during an interview. Various modes of transport were provided for visitors, as can be seen with Hougaard's own tour in 1987. The first stretch to Grootfontein was in a 'proper' aircraft with an air hostess on board. From there to Rundu they were taken by 'Flossie' (passenger and goods aircraft), which was less luxurious as it had no windows and was fitted with hammocks, while sirens signalled for seatbelts to be fastened. At Rundu they travelled further in 'Ratels' (fighting vehicles designed to transport soldiers) to their destination. Tour brochures that artists received included the sponsors, tour programme, names of the tour group (lighting, artists and Air Force staff), general information, which included security-related matters (no photographs taken without permission and staying with the touring company at all times), transport information and a map of the border (SA Lugmag Vertoondienste, 1988a, 1988b). Stage props included flat-bed trucks converted into a stage, or lifted concrete slabs with sandbags on the sides, a camouflaged tent at the back and lighting with light bulbs draped over the sandbags and fixed to the tent. Spotlights were provided by two signallers on their stomachs holding strong torches (Hougaard, 2017). Hougaard (2017) also vaguely recalled appearing on a Navy ship in a boxing ring as stage with boxing matches between the Army and the Navy. Descriptions of the laborious packing and unpacking of props and the hard work in preparation for these tours, indicate, to an extent, the dedication of artists that visited the various military institutions. From Karin Hougaard's description in terms of the logistics and transport, and the information meticulously set out in the tour brochures (which included sponsors), is an indication that this planning was an important step in the chain of events for the SADF to achieve their propaganda purposes.

Hougaard (2017) further recounts a week-long stint at a base camp for SADF and UNITA soldiers in the Operational Area in 1988, where soldiers were in transit from Angola, administrative matters were attended to and where soldiers were afforded a chance to unwind. As part of this pause in their official duties, Hougaard was tasked to entertain these soldiers.

This is evidence of the comforting role of music after soldiers had experienced combat and other life-threatening situations. In the Operational Area everything was basic in terms of the facilities. No mirrors; dressing, ablution and showering facilities consisted of a type of caravan with one side open (no privacy) to which guests were accompanied. However, guests were afforded more privacy, as Hougaard indicated. In general, the SADF's organisation of these visits and performances, from the perspective of a performer, was perceived as professional. Hougaard (2017) recalled that she (as a woman performer) was well looked after with great consideration ('koninklik behandel' – 'royal treatment'), that she was accommodated in a separate camp area and that she mostly had contact with officials of higher rank. There is a striking contrast of 'koninklik[e]' treatment in comparison to the reality of the border: life threatening, combat, no privacy and no luxuries or normal amenities.

8.5 Summary

Without doubt, the objectification of women in *Paratus* was evident in the way that female artists were referred to in the diminutive 'sangeressie' and the attention given to their physical features. The descriptions in *Paratus* paint a picture that soldiers were inclined towards admiring the ladies in how they expressed their 'appreciation' by excessive clapping or whistling. This raises the question whether female artists were appreciated in terms of their talent or their gender. As mentioned, *Paratus* does not give any indication of crude soldier conduct during these performances, and in this, constructs an untainted image of the soldier. Although it is expected that music should raise the morale of soldiers, the contrary was shown where soldiers were discontented with the Pierre de Charmoy and Gospel concerts, as expressed by Morris (2017). This indicates that the outcomes (reception and conduct) of these performances cannot be planned.

In most documented border visits in *Paratus* one would read about the adventurous side of these occasions. This was also confirmed by Hougaard (2017) as she recalled relaxing at the campfire after performances. To her these experiences appeared to be typical bush experiences, reminiscent of going on safari, an experience that not many people will have had in these kinds of surroundings. For some it was sometimes difficult to believe that there was an ongoing war, as Hougaard confirmed, 'dit was moeilik om te glo dat ek in Angola was' ['it was difficult to believe that I was in Angola']. Being accommodated separately (away from the masses), mostly

with contact with officials of higher rank, minimised the possibility (reality) of harassment by soldiers of lower rank. Certainly, music was a key feature in the process of improving the image of the SADF. The connections between famous personalities and their terms of service in the SADF were vital components to achieving this. Naturally, these idols set an example to their followers and fans, further increasing the success in future conscription. Besides the objective of troop entertainment, artists' experiences (treatment that they have received) may also have been a method of the SADF to mislead the public about life on the border, diffusing the reality of war (bombings, landmines and death). The question about the complicity of civilian performers in the war effort, is an important one. There is no doubt that artists who performed for soldiers were serving the aims of the SADF. However, at the time many believed that there was a real threat and that their contribution of supporting morale became part of the necessary bulwark against terrorist incursion. Acts of complicity, their politics and economics, are a potentially rich study on its own and will not be addressed here.

Music and its association with leisure is a particularly evocative idea relating to militarization. Framed through war and military activity, the notion of leisure assumes an inflated value. 'Time off' from fighting and from protecting the border and advancing 'white civilization', was sure to be made more meaningful. In this context, music and musical performances became more than entertainment since it became symbolic of an interface with normal life outside the military, and of pleasure and desire beyond war. In this sense, music fulfilled the function of a window to civil society, a conduit for non-military feelings in a military environment, a safe alternative, and a time-bound reality. Entertainment in the military and by the military directed towards civilian society caused a diversion from the seriousness of the political and military situation, illustrating that life goes on. This took place with the endorsements of an industry that interconnected civilian and military life.

9 Events

Events reported in *Paratus* included farewell parades,⁴¹⁴ official visits, celebrations of important days, open days, award ceremonies, funerals, military tattoos, presentation of Colour parades, openings of Parliament, inaugurations and anniversaries.⁴¹⁵ Most of these events were public displays to create or maintain an awareness of the military and as an attempt to convey a positive image of the SADF. These events were structured to provide a certain level of insight into the operations of the military and in general included displays of military hardware (also accessible for the public to explore), parades, speeches and displays of military skill, mostly ending with a function such as a dance, barbecue or a concert. Since military open days are incorporated throughout this study, no separate reference will be made to them here.

9.1 Military traditions and customs

A number of military customs and traditions in South Africa originated from Britain and Europe (Picard, 1990:1); these include aspects such as wearing moustaches, saluting, army chaplains,

⁴¹⁴ South African military history also involves a number of farewells. Examples in *Paratus* included the farewell for General C.A. Fraser, Commander General of the SADF and Consul General in Iran, in 1973. This occasion was marked with a revue parade and performances by the SA Army and Air Force Bands (Die SAW sê tot siens aan Genl C.A. Fraser, SSA, SM, 1973:16-17). An example of reporting on National Servicemen approaching the end of their service can be found in the July 1973 issue of *Paratus*, whereby the Technical Services Corps Training Centre Voortrekkerhoogte had their farewell dinner. Evidence of music as an entertaining way to convey a message came when they heard in the address by the acting Officer Commanding that they still had six months of service left, they responded by singing, 'How the ... can we believe you, you lie you lie you lie' (A dinner to bid them farewell, 1973:46).

⁴¹⁵ Inaugurations also included events such as the launching of South Africa's first submarine, the Maria van Riebeeck. After a speech by Mrs Elize Botha (wife of the Minister of Defence), the submarine was let into the water of the Loire River to the sound of 'Die Stem'. Two more submarines, the Emily Hobhouse and Johanna van der Merwe were to follow. The significance of women's names was to honour the role of South African women in the country's history (Ons duikboot word ter water gelaat, 1969:10-11). The July 1981 issue of *Paratus* featured a photograph of the State President's Guard at the opening of the State Theatre in Pretoria (Wag by opening van Staatsteater, 1981:53), while the October 1982 issue of *Paratus*, for example, featured an article on the official opening of the Durban Regiment's Headquarters in 1982, which included the unveiling of a plaque, Freedom of Entry to the City and awarding medals (Genl Viljoen attends Durban Regiment's red-letter day, 1982:31).

dress distinctions, inspections, military weddings, presenting arms,⁴¹⁶ Guards of Honour, military tattoos, the retreat and military funerals (Military customs and traditions, 1974:14-17). As background for the ‘non-military’ reader, this section will provide a brief overview of a number of these traditions and customs that explicitly referred to music. Firstly, an explanation of each of these will be given where relevant, followed by examples of each within a South African context.

9.1.1 The Military Retreat

The retreat, with its origins in the Anglo-Saxon era, entailed the lowering of flags at sunset as a sign to withdraw from battle and to rest, and to remove the wounded and deceased from the battlefield. The following morning the battle resumed after the sounding of the ‘first post’ and the concurrent hoisting of the flags (At SAS Jalsena, 1984:31). The article, ‘Military customs and traditions’ (1974:15) further refer to a seventeenth century source where the *Reveille* (morning call) was beaten at 03:00. The Retreat at 21:00 took place in a large street, or as ordered, whereby the captain was presented to the main guard by the Drum Major and drummers of the regiment. This was reciprocated by drummers of other guards and of the various regiments. Later references, such as that of Humphrey Bland in 1727, gave various seasonal times of 22:00 (summer) or 20:00 (winter), which was half an hour before the gates were shut (in synchronisation with the setting of the sun) (Military customs and traditions, 1974:5). A distinction made by the Duke of Cumberland in Flanders in 1747 indicated that the Retreat took place at sunset and the Tattoo (bugle call) at night (Clapham, 1969:44). In twentieth century in Britain, the sounding of the retreat (bugle and drum) signified the end of the military activities for the day (Military customs and traditions, 1982:51). Sound, as can be

⁴¹⁶ The origin of presenting arms seems to be rooted in Europe and England (before the advent of firearms) when an armed party entering the castle handed their weapons to the guard on duty for safe keeping in a guardroom. The tradition from England hails from the time of King Charles II’s restoration to the throne when one of Cromwell’s regiments wanted to enter the king’s service. This required a ceremony where the entrants to the service had to lay down their weapons and take them up again in the king’s service. These acts were performed as a token of mutual trust and respect (Military customs and traditions, 1974:14).

seen in this context, can be heard at a distance at night, which played an important role in regulating soldiers between their duties.

In a South African context, the Special Service Battalion (SSB) of the Union Defence Force (UDF) adapted the beating of the retreat as a formal ceremonial parade on Friday evenings in the 1930s, with the first such occasion on 13 July 1934. In the presence of the public, these events featured saluting, the lowering of the national flag, marching bands and a Guard of Honour performing the general salute. Some years later parading Unit Colours was included and by 1937 ‘Die Stem’ (National Anthem), played during the general salute, was incorporated into the ceremony. The Retreat Ceremony was thus one of the ceremonies with strong South African military roots (Military customs and traditions, 1982:51-52). The Retreat featured a Guard of Honour forming and dividing into four sections. The band, on the right hand side of the spectators, marched up and down in front of the Guard while they were performing, after which they positioned themselves in front of the flagpole to play the National Anthem and to lower the flag as the Retreat sounded (Military customs and traditions, 1974:15). As most retreat ceremonies featured as part of larger events, few details about this specific ceremony itself have surfaced. Reference to the Retreat was mostly made as an incidental remark indicating its presence.⁴¹⁷

9.1.2 The Military Tattoo

The Tattoo, a word believed to originate from Dutch, dates from the seventeenth century, when rival forces were accommodated in towns and villages near the battlefield in autumn as war activities ended. As soldiers visiting inns had to be back at their accommodation between 21:30 and at 22:00, innkeepers stopped selling liquor. A drummer marched through the quarters to warn the soldiers, and on hearing this, innkeepers called, ‘Doe den tap Toe’ [‘Close the tap’], or ‘Taptoe’, and closed the taps (Military customs and traditions, 1974:15). As a military pageant, the Tattoo is an evening event of military displays accompanied by music and artificial lighting (Clapham, 1969:44), based on a tradition which incorporates a country’s military

⁴¹⁷ Examples of the Retreat are presented throughout this study.

customs and history (Durban weer gaande oor die Taptoe, 1982:50). The performance taking place at nighttime also derives from the origin of this kind of event, namely, closing the taps at night (Clapham, 1969:44). Later, the Tattoo incorporated a hymn in its closing ceremony (Durban Tattoo will mark 75th birthday of SA Defence Force, 1987:8). To excite audiences, components of a Tattoo generally include music and military actions performed under spectacular lighting, which contributes towards creating dramatic effects by means of lights, shadows and colour, within a more intimate setting such as a stadium so that spectators could ‘feel part of the performance’. It is also an opportunity to portray various facets of the Defence Force: music, drills, equestrian displays, dog displays, gun displays, and physical fitness and gymnastic displays (Durban Tattoo will mark 75th birthday of SA Defence Force, 1987:8; Durban Tattoo a feast of stars, 1983:62-63).

The first mention of a Tattoo in *Commando* (within the timeframe of this study) appeared in January 1968 referring to the event at Milner Park, Johannesburg, organised by the Citizen Force units of Witwatersrand Command on 11 November 1967 as an introduction to the public and potential recruits (Wit command stages military tattoo, 1968:13, 17). In this, it is evident that the Tattoo took on the role as potential recruiting medium and also as tool to influence civilians towards an appreciation of the SADF. The order of events started with an inspection of the SA Irish Regiment Guard of Honour, the presentation of medals, a drill demonstration (‘square bashing’) by the South African Infantry (3 S.A.I.), a mass band display, a march past all Wits Command units (SAS Rand’s ‘smart white uniforms [sending] many a female heart fluttering’) with General Hiemstra taking the salute, and the beating of the retreat (‘always an emotional ceremony’) by the Transvaal Scottish Regiment, accompanied by their own pipe band and the South African Army band. The South African Army, Light Horse Regiment, Transvaal Scottish and Witwatersrand Rifles Bands, and Selected Bands of School Cadet Detachments participated in the mass band display (Wit command stages military tattoo, 1968:13, 17). Although music may have been prominent in a Tattoo setting and although they may have been the standard order of procedures, comments in *Commando* specifically drew attention the musical items. The notion of men in uniforms sending ‘many a female heart fluttering’ borders on the militarist idea of the soldier as hero. The photograph below shows a mass band display by the SA Cape Corps Band, SA Navy Band, Police and Prison Service Bands and the Cape Field Artillery Pipe Band (Cohen, 1987b:4).

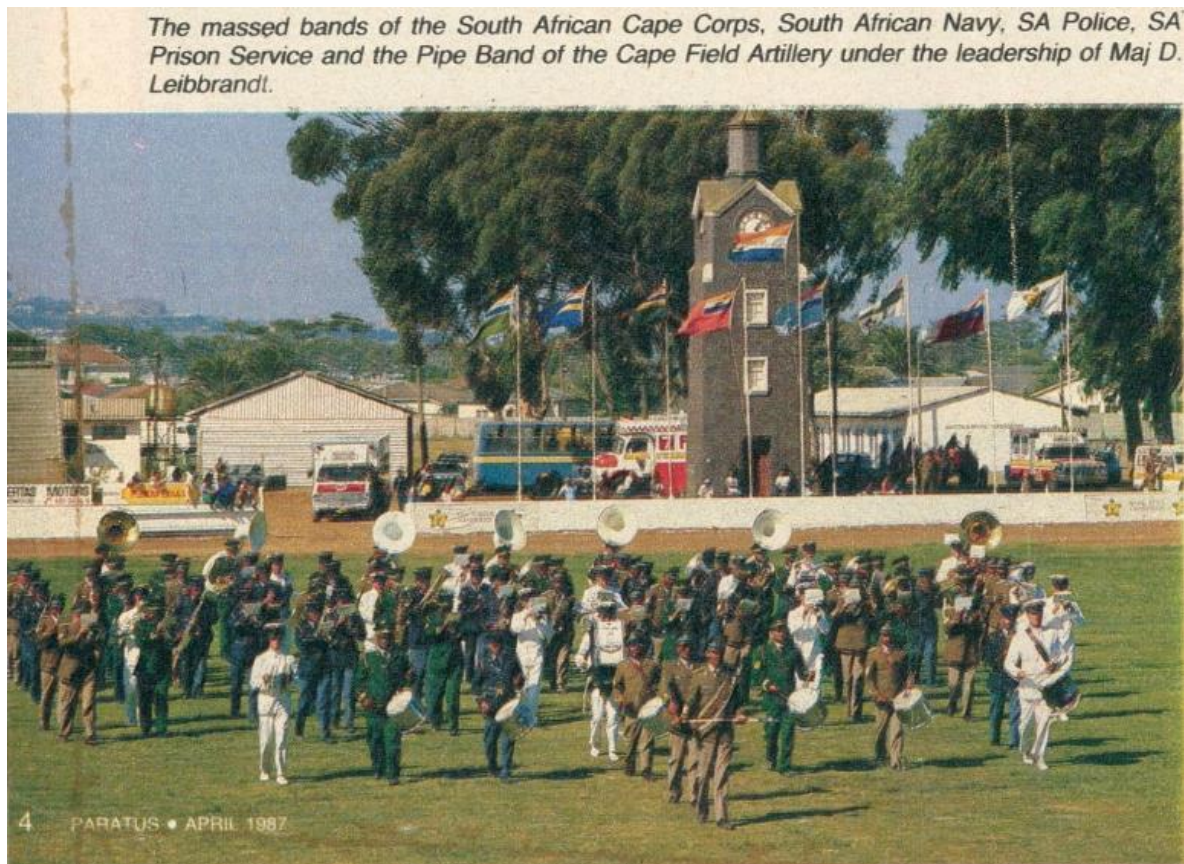


Figure 76: Mass band display (Cohen, 1987b:4).

The June 1969 issue of *Commando* reported on the South African Naval Tattoo at Green Point Stadium during the Cape Town Nautical Week in March which featured 600 participants from the Navy and was witnessed by 9 000 spectators (which included a number of dignitaries such as the Mayor of Cape Town, the State President, the Ministers of Justice and Health and a number of high-ranking officers) in a programme exceeding three hours. The programme included demonstrations of navy skills, rescue operations and gymnastic displays (Fleck, 1969:33).

The Tattoo for the Cape Castle's tercentenary celebration in April 1979 featured a silent drill display by 1 SA Cape Corps Service Battalion and items such as a display by the Western Cape Committee for National Dancing and National Songs, cadet bands, trampoline displays, Scottish dancing, mass pipe bands (Cape Town Highlanders, Cape Field Artillery and Cape Town Caledonian Society Pipe Band), the Malay Choir Board singing traditional songs, gun displays, mock attacks, armed combat displays and a mass band display (The Castle 300 years

old, 1979:7). Notwithstanding the traditional songs by the Malay Choir Board, it appears that the the music items included on the programme resonated mostly with white South Africans. The inclusion of at least one ‘non-white’ item as a token of multi-racial collaboration was also a pattern to be detected in the various Tattoos. Besides the general military displays, the Tattoo, as part of the annual Cape Show (Main Arena) in 1988, included a flag tableau (men of 2 SA Cape Corps Battalion), sword dancing (accompanied by the Pipes and Drums of the Cape Field Artillery), the Silver Falcon Aerobatic Team, Zulu dancers from Pietermaritzburg in traditional wear, the Kavango Choir and members of the South West Africa Territory Force (in full bush camouflage) (Fried, 1988b:11). Once again, colonial history featured in the flag tableau as the flags of 15th Century Portugal, the Republic of Natalia, the ‘Nuwe Republiek’ [‘New Republic’] and the ‘Vierkleur’ featured. The Zulu dancers wearing traditional costumes and performing traditional music represented a generalised perception of Zulu culture. Most items for the Tattoo (described as the highlight) at the 1989 Cape Show seemed to replicate those of the previous year’s event. The event further included drum majorettes (Settlers’ High School), folk dancing (Army Women’s College, George) and a performance of Tchaikovsky’s 1812 Overture (Furter, 1989c:34-35). Thus far it is evident that the Military Tattoo formed part of broader civilian events, which provided an opportunity for the military to get a foothold. However, the Military Tattoo could feature as a stand-alone event, as found with the Durban Tattoo.

The history of the Durban Tattoo started in 1979 with a suggestion of Durban’s Director of Publicity, Terry Toohey, as a publicity medium and economic boost for Durban, a winter holiday destination (Durban Tattoo a feast of stars, 1983:62). Thus, Toohey’s suggestion echoed Clapham’s (1969:44) point, based on the examples of the Aldershot Searchlight Tattoo (England), the Edinburgh Military Tattoo and the *Bundeswehr* parade (Western Germany). SADF support for the event was an effort to advance their own image and for recruitment possibilities. The first initiative in 1979 drew 140 000 spectators (The Durban Tattoo: It’s going to be the best yet, 1982:42-43). This initial Durban Tattoo featured various military skill

displays,⁴¹⁸ as well as music performances, which included by a mass brass, pipe and drum band (SA Army Band, SA Air Force Band, SA Navy Band; Technical Services Training Centre Band; 21 Battalion Band and the SA Medical Service Band). The Mass Pipe Band (100 pipers and 40 drummers) for the occasion included the Pipe Bands of the Light Horse, Transvaal Scottish, SA Irish, Kimberley and Durban Regiments, as well as the Witwatersrand Rifles, Pretoria Highlanders, and the Natal Mounted Rifles. A new added tradition included the formation of a National Service Pipe Band from National Servicemen in training (SADF's participation in the Durban Military Tattoo, 1979:18). These activities more or less set the trend for Tattoos to come in years following. The Durban Tattoo further illustrates the prominent role of music through the involvement of the various bands. One also gets a glimpse of the logistics in terms of combined band rehearsals that took place at Witwatersrand Command under the lead of Commander R.R. Marlow and Captain N. Rose. A film for training purposes was produced by Colet, the SADF's Film production division (SADF's participation in the Durban Military Tattoo, 1979:18). Such large-scale military events featuring music, provided opportune holiday entertainment directed at various strata of society and thus served as an ideal vehicle for normalizing the military presence in daily life.

The 1982 Durban Tattoo, hosted by the South African Air Force (which was also to provide the Guard of Honour),⁴¹⁹ saw a venue change from the King's Park Rugby Stadium to the King's Park Soccer Stadium for a 'more intimate and theatre-like atmosphere' aided by the elaborate lighting from previous Tattoos installed at the soccer stadium, enhanced by the stadium's floodlights and spotlights (The Durban Tattoo: It's going to be the best yet, 1982:42-43).⁴²⁰ The backdrop décor depicted a castle on which a lone piper would end the evening, followed by a fireworks display (Durban Tattoo a feast of stars, 1983:62-63). Mostly private companies such as Lion Matches and its subsidiary company Wilkinson Sword donated ceremonial swords

⁴¹⁸ Without the mention of music *Paratus* mostly focused on SAS Jalsena's skill at the gun drill competitions (SADF's participation in the Durban Military Tattoo, 1979:18; SAS Jalsina trains for Tattoo, 1979:4; The Durban Tattoo: It's going to be the best yet, 1982:42-43; Rourke, 1985a:4-5; 1985b:23).

⁴¹⁹ Each branch of the Armed Forces had a turn to host the Tattoo.

⁴²⁰ 'Durban weer gaande oor die Taptoe' ['Durban again mad about the Tattoo'] (1982:50) indicated the location still as the King's Park Rugby Stadium.

(‘Swords of Peace’) and supported the event financially (The Durban Tattoo: It’s going to be the best yet, 1982:42-43).⁴²¹

The usual Tattoo programme consisted of drum majorettes from various secondary schools (see Figure 77 below),⁴²² mass bands, gymnastic displays,⁴²³ drill displays, mock attacks, canon drills, motorcycle displays, dog displays, and military skill displays. The general format of these events would include the lone piper (in spotlight) on the castle wall playing ‘The Last Post’ and a firework display. The mock terrorist attack, irrespective of terrain or conditions,⁴²⁴ was one thread that could be drawn through all Durban Tattoos within the timeframe of this study. In combination with the music soundtrack provided by the various bands, subliminally these attack demonstrations added not only to the construction of a perceived enemy, but also its inevitable defeat. As mentioned in examples before corporate interest and financial support in these Tattoos indicated their share in the SADF’s militaristic ideals. Annually, the Durban Tattoo featured similar events as listed above. In the following paragraphs, however, I will not describe each event in detail, but would rather focus on aspects that were incorporated in the Tattoo for variation.

[Photograph on next page]

⁴²¹ In the December 1986 issue of *Paratus*, for example, it is also written that Wilkinson Sword donated a ceremonial sword to the SA Cape Corps (SAKK Opl Eenh kry eie swaard, 1986:17).

⁴²² The drum majorettes of St Dominic’s School featured regularly at the Durban Tattoo. See also De Smidt (1984:4), ‘Durban Tattoo will mark 75th birthday of SA Defence Force’ (1987:8) and Kleyn (1988c:12-13). Further schools included Milnerton High School (Cohen, 1987b:4) and Edenglen Girls High School (Kleyn, 1988c:12-13).

⁴²³ The Durban Military Tattoo of 1983 included a show from Hammanskraal Police College gymnasts (the ‘show-stealers’) with their ‘own sung accompaniment’ (Durban Tattoo a feast of stars, 1983:62-63) The Hammanskraal gymnasts performed at various Tattoos. See Ash (1986b:40-41).

⁴²⁴ The 1982 event featured an Arctic Assault team demonstrating a mock terrorist attack in snow (Durban weer gaande oor die Taptoe, 1982:50).



Figure 77: Drum majorettes of St Dominics School advertising the Durban Tattoo (De Smidt 1984:4).

Paratus provided greater detail about the procedures and setting for the 1984 Durban Tattoo, watched by 4 000 spectators, flags waving on the castle, bats ‘playing’ in the spotlights and photographers congregating at the entrance, ready for the event to start at eight o’ clock in the evening. This ‘multi-racial [...] exercise in human relations’ started with a welcoming announcement followed by a mas band of pipes and drums, and a mock demonstration of two white terrorists (steering away from the norm) attempting to hijack a bus. The programme included the South African Railway Police’s physical training team (81 black recruits singing the Anton Goosen song, ‘Blommetjie gedenk aan my’) and the SA Army, the SA Prison Services and SA Railway Police Bands performing popular and traditional music at this festival for ‘lovers of military music’. A lone piper (in spotlight) played from the castle wall, followed by a firework display in the national colours of orange, white and blue. The event was planned a year in advance by the Durban Tattoo committee consisting of members from various entities in Durban (De Smidt, 1984:4-5).

Another item that featured regularly on the Tattoo programme included 'indigenous' acts by Zulu dancers as 'firm favourites, especially with foreigners', (Durban weer gaande oor die Taptoe, 1982:50). Note the picture of Zulu dancers in traditional outfits with references in the caption to 'tribal dancers' and 'ethnic flavour' (Pentopoulos, 1987b:13), which formed part of apartheid constructs of black identity.



Figure 78: Durban Tattoo 1987 (Pentopoulos, 1987b:12-13).

In conjunction with the SA Navy Week, the Navy featured prominently in the 1985 Durban Tattoo which included a reasonable portion of navy events: flag hoisting ceremonies, the daily firing from a new battery of canons (positioned on the Bluff in Durban) at 12 o'clock, the performance by Mariners from China (Tiger Troops), a regatta, an art exhibition by schools in the Natal area, a rowing regatta, street parades, demonstrations by SAS Jalsena, the SA Prison Service, the SA Navy (Rourke, 1985a:4-5; 1985b:23). Music included 'The saffron kilt', 'The Highland Brigade at Magersfontein' and 'When the battle is o'er' (Rourke, 1985a:4-5).



Figure 79: Durban Tattoo poster for 1985 (Rourke, 1985b:23).

Focusing on the South African Police in their 75th anniversary, the 1988 Tattoo, staged by some 1 000 participants. The ceremonial Guard of Honour, formed by the Police, and the joint bands (SADF, SA Police and SA Prison Service) opened the event, while music performances included works such as ‘Chariots of fire’, ‘Amazing Grace’ and ‘Auld Lang Syne’ (‘Last Post’) (Kleyn, 1988c:12-13). The image below features a piper with a racially mixed audience in the background. Some of the black women are also wearing head coverings, which was typical of women employed as household help – a position mostly reserved for black and coloured women. The headline, ‘Een van die wêreld se beste’ [‘One of the world’s best’], suggests that the SADF maintained a high international standard, and through this instils national pride.



Figure 80: Aerial view of Durban Tattoo performance (Kleyn, 1988c:12-13).

Deviating from the usual pattern, the Durban Tattoo of 1989 (modelled on the Royal Tournament at Earls Court in London) took place in October (instead of July) at the First National Bank Arena (indoors), providing a closer view of the activity and better acoustics. The order of events took place as follows: after the South African Prison Services Guard of Honour opened the event, the Highland bands, dressed in tartan kilts, entered the arena, marching to the massed pipes and drums. The Avril O'Leary School of Highland Dancing performed a sword dance. The South African Navy Inter-Command gun-race between Naval Commands East and West then took place.⁴²⁵ South African Police women gave a maypole

⁴²⁵ The gun race was a tradition that had its roots in the Anglo-Boer War when, for the first time, guns were delivered in Durban and taken overland in a race to assist with the relief of Ladysmith. Subsequently, the gun-race was introduced in the Royal Tournament at Earls Court in London in 1907 (Kennedy, 1989b:6-7).

performance and physical training display.⁴²⁶ The South African Prison Services, dressed as ancient Romans, entered the arena in horse-drawn Roman chariots, to the accompaniment of ‘Parade of the Charioteers’ from the film, *Ben Hur*. In closing, the massed bands performed, followed by ‘The Last Post’ and ‘Auld Lang Syne’ and ‘Lights out’ by the lone piper. All in all, there were three afternoon and nine evening shows (Kennedy, 1989b:6-7).

The Durban Tattoo also regularly featured international performers. Presenting the 1982 event in the traditional format combined with new items, the audience experienced the acts performed by close to 1 500 participants, which included the British Columbia Beefeater Band from Canada, the acrobatic Lee-Tang-Hwa Troupe from Taiwan (35 boys and girls with ages ranging from 5 to 15 years) and the Mississippi All State Lions Band (33 boys and 27 girls performing to the music of Glen Miller) (The Durban Tattoo: It’s going to be the best yet, 1982:42-43). Further international performers include the Berlin Police Motorcycle Team at the 183 event (Durban Tattoo a feast of stars, 1983:62-63), the Italian *Fanfara dei Bersaglieri* (established in 1860s), performing at the 1984 Tattoo (De Smidt, 1984:4-5) and the historical band, *Historische Burgerwache Mengen* from Germany in 1986 (Ash, 1986b:40-41). International channels represented by the attendance of international participants (‘unofficial ambassadors’) thus served as conduit to spread the message of South African militarisation to a wider geographical context. Although previous Tattoos incorporated performances by international participants, the Tattoo for the 75th anniversary of the SADF focussed on South African content, with substantial contributions by the SADF. The programme included window-dressing displays, a Miss Tattoo beauty contest (the first mention of such an event), a mini-Tattoo for patients in hospitals in the vicinity and a street parade. Each year the Tattoo accommodated the elderly, disabled and underprivileged from all races to attend for free (Rourke, 1985a:4-5; 1985b:23; Durban Tattoo will mark 75th birthday of SA Defence Force, 1987:8).

The custom of the Military Tattoo as an event commemorating and honouring military traditions and heritage (Mallette, George and Blum, 2018:70) is not only connected to apartheid South Africa. It is an event that continues in post-apartheid South Africa and other parts of the

⁴²⁶ They replaced the South African Police students from Hammanskraal (Kennedy, 1989b:6-7).

world today. The question with regard to this event relates to the context and what the Tattoo represented in the context of apartheid South Africa. What comes to mind here is the phenomenon of mock terrorist attacks in which the enemy was constructed along the lines of apartheid racial ideology. The Tattoo in apartheid years also included the application of military tactics and equipment against the enemy not only outside the borders, but also within the borders of South Africa. Civilians were actively participating in this set-up, whether in the limelight (school bands and drum majorettes) or as part of the audience. The prominent presence of music at these events highlighted the entertainment function of music; a function that arguably detracted from the seriousness of the actual events in the broader context of the SA Border War. It can also be assumed that the martial music at these events would have elicited various emotions. Loud and fast music, for example, is linked with energy and excitement and naturally, the military would have used this music to excite and motivate audiences at these events. These events may further have served to create unity and a sense of belonging by means of the collective experience.

9.1.3 The Military Funeral

Based on an ancient Greek custom of reversing the order where the nobles' pages carrying the insignia followed the coffin; insignia bearers were to carry the officer's medals on a cushion preceeding the coffin. This was a practice carried out by the South African Army and Air Force at the time of Field Marshall J.C. Smuts, and was later continued by the South African Navy. At a later stage in the SADF the medals, cap, sword and belt were placed on the coffin, which was draped with the National Flag as symbol of the soldier dying for his country.⁴²⁷ The coffin bearers were accompanied by pallbearers (mantle bearers), protecting the body. The ancient practice of soldiers striking their swords three times into the air to 'drive the demons from the spirit or heart of the departed soldier' was replaced by firing three shots (volleys), symbolising the soldier's lifecycle ('birth, manhood and death') or in Britain, symbolising the 'Holy Trinity'. These practices were not followed by the SADF. 'The Last Post' bugle call ('the "Nunc

⁴²⁷ See also Watkins's (2003:50) reference to Horace's 'Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori' ['It is sweet and honourable to die for one's country'].

Dimittis” or farewell of the dead soldier, airman or sailor’) with a high ending note (‘hope and expectation’) was followed by a pause and the ‘Reveille’ (‘resurrection’) (Military customs and traditions, 1974:16).

The remains of Commodore Jack Rice (South African Military, Air and Naval Attaché in Argentina), who passed away in Buenos Aires on 6 November 1968, were laid to rest in Simon’s Town on 7 January 1969. The proceedings started with a requiem mass, followed by a funeral procession – 400 military members and accompanied by the SA Navy Band, which played the ‘Dead march’ – while the coffin, draped with the National Flag, was drawn on a gun carriage to the Dido Valley cemetery. Two sets of 11-gun salutes were fired: one set before arrival at the cemetery and the other at the graveside, followed by the general salute, ‘Last Post’ and ‘Reveille’ (Distinguished Naval Officer laid to rest, 1969:35).⁴²⁸

The descriptions of the funerals for Prime Ministers H.F. Verwoerd in 1966 and T.E. Dönges in 1968, and Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Mr Basie van Rensburg in 1970 (accompanied by numerous photographs in *Paratus*), give a fair indication of the procedures of this kind of event. The funeral of Dr H.F. Verwoerd, conducted with apparent ‘simplicity and silent devotion’ on 10 September 1966, was given a write-up of two pages with photographs in the October 1966 issue of *Commando*. The main event (service) took place in the amphitheatre of the Union Buildings in Pretoria. Following the sermon, the two presiding clergymen, Dominees [Ministers] Louw and Gericke, went to the street where the Honorary Guard was present and where Mrs Verwoerd was received, whilst waiting for the hearse. As the Honorary Guard stood in presentation mode, the SA Navy Band played ‘Die Stem’. The coffin was taken to the podium, after which the congregation sang hymns, followed by a sermon and reading from Scripture. The procession then left for the cemetery, accompanied by a 19-gun salute (for a Prime Minister according to protocol). An Honorary Guard by the SA Navy Gymnasium took

⁴²⁸ Commodore Rice was the First Commanding Officer of the Naval Gymnasium at Saldanha Bay. See ‘Distinguished Naval Officer laid to rest’ (1969:35), which gives an overview of the naval career of Commodore Rice. According to protocol a Prime Minister received a 19-gun salute (Dr. H.F. Verwoerd: ‘n Reus onder ons helde ter ruste gelê, 1966:8-9), while a 21-gun salute is the highest national honour (Davies, 1976:22).

the salute in front of the Old Assembly Hall, whilst the National Anthem was played. Senior SADF officials carried the coffin, accompanied by Ministers and Members of Parliament. A salute flight by Harvard aircraft wrote the letters, ‘H.V.’ in formation. The ‘Last Tattoo’ was played and the procession left for the cemetery where the body of H.F. Verwoerd was laid to rest in the ‘Heroes Acre’ in Pretoria (Dr. H.F. Verwoerd: ’n Reus onder ons helde ter ruste gelê, 1966:8-9).⁴²⁹



Figure 81: Funeral of Verwoerd (Dr. H.F. Verwoerd: 'n Reus onder ons helde, 1966:8-9).

Headings such as ‘Reus onder ons helde’ [‘Giant amongst the heroes’] for the Verwoerd funeral, captured the general mindset of white South Africans subscribing to apartheid, where Verwoerd was highly regarded, deserving of all the fanfare and pomp.

⁴²⁹ The October 1983 issue of *Paratus* featured an article on John Vorster with no indication of a large-scale funeral in this or any subsequent issues of *Paratus*. His funeral in Kareedouw in the Eastern Cape was attended by family members and a number of dignitaries (Lang lewe van diens, 1983:6).

The presidential funeral for Dr T.E. Dönges at the Groote Kerk in Cape Town in 1968 entailed an Honorary Guard formed by the State President's Guard at the Groote Kerk (for their first public ceremony in Cape Town) with cabinet ministers carrying the coffin. Present were 1 700 participating SADF members, a motorised unit, 200 marching soldiers, a fly-past of Impala aircraft and a soundtrack by the SA Navy Band. The SA Navy formed the Honorary Guard at Heerengracht where the procession took place. Members of the Cape Town Rifles, Cape Town Highlanders, the University of Cape Town Regiment, 46 Squadron and the commandos of Tygerberg, Stellenbosch, Durbanville, Peninsula, Wynberg, Cape Flats and Lions Head lined the streets. A 19-gun salute was fired (Reinecke, 1968:6-7).

For the Van Rensburg funeral attendees included political leaders, military employees, SA Police Force members, diplomats, dignitaries and acquaintances. This large-scale funeral, which was arranged by the SADF in a short space of time, included the participation of more than 1 000 members of the SA Air Force and Army, VIP's, military personnel for radio communications, medical services, catering and various types of military hardware. Besides the 1 200 attendees at the Dutch Reformed Church in Bloemfontein where the funeral was held, people on the streets were also able to hear the service via loudspeakers. The proceedings commenced with the coffin (carried by eight Major Generals) being taken to the gun carriage and escorted by armoured vehicles, a Guard of Honour of 53 men outside the church and a Guard of Honour from members of 1 Special Service Battalion at the cemetery. 1 Special Service Battalion, 1 Parachute Battalion, 17 Field Squadron, the SA Air Force and Services School provided a marching escort of 400 men. As the journey to the cemetery began, 17 shots were fired. The funeral march was played by the SA Air Force Band and a salute of 17 more shots was fired whilst the coffin was lowered. This was followed by the 'Last Post' and 'Reveille' performed by members from the SA Air Force Band (17 Gun salute for Mr Basie van Rensburg, 1970:26-29). The Van Rensburg funeral was a spectacular event of perhaps excessive proportion for a lesser government minister. Those who could attend, those who witnessed the event via loudspeakers, and those who would have witnessed the procession of a large-scale military presence to the cemetery would have experienced the emotion signified by the event.

Judging from the photographs and descriptions, these occasions with a strong military presence also provided a platform to display military prowess to the public lining the streets. In all these

events, mention was made of military band performances. Works such as the ‘Last Post’ and ‘Reveille’ were particularly significant through their association with fallen heroes, indicating the importance of the soldier or war hero. For observers at these events, the music associated with the proceedings of these events would have aroused emotions of melancholy, pride and patriotism and in this, would have created compassion for the soldier and the cause he died for. In this manner, music, in the militarisation of society, conveyed the heroic message of the fallen hero.

9.1.4 Regimental Colours

From earlier times in history, units on the battlefield were identified by certain insignia referred to as ‘Colours’, a practice by infantry units since the sixteenth century in England and Western Europe. These Colours, usually visible from a hill or other prominent place, served as markers to indicate gathering points in times of battle. If the Colours were lost or captured, the effect would have been the disbandment and scattering of the regiment. The origin of its use in modern times hailed from the German *Landsknechts* (companies of 300) who founded the ceremonial use of Colours. The Colours primarily and secondly the drum are significant symbols for an army or regiment. Protecting the Colours seemed to take precedence over protecting a soldier’s life and capturing the enemy’s colours was highly esteemed. The significance of the drum was its use in earlier warfare and the fact that it often contained inscriptions of battles fought (Grant, 2013:23).⁴³⁰

For the Presentation of the Colours a band was to lead the recipient battalion to the location where they were to receive their Colours. At the location they formed a square with one open side where drums, with the Colours draped over them, were piled in the centre of the square. The Colours were first consecrated by a Chaplain before they were handed to the kneeling recipients by the presenter. After reforming the line, the Colours were displayed (trooped) before the battalion was to receive them (Picard, 1990:2-3).

⁴³⁰ Grant refers to an unpublished manuscript by Henry Farmer in 1962.

the SA Army Permanent Force and their pipe bands leading the guards on parade, which was called to attention by a Sergeant-Major after unfolding the Colour. Instructed by an Adjutant who took over from the Sergeant-Major, warrant officers and guards were to march to their positions to the beat of the Drum Corps. A commanding officer then took over from the Adjutant and gave orders to officers and warrant officers to take up their positions. The Major General and Brigadier stepped onto the podium. When the band played, the Colour escorts took the Colour to the location of the receiving ceremony to be displayed to the regiment, whilst the escort marched slowly through the ranks of the regiment. All took their positions and marched past the podium, where the Major General took the salute. The ceremony closed as the regiment marched off with the Colour. A Trooping the Colour ceremony also aimed to showcase the SADF to the public (Holliday, 1968:37-39).⁴³¹

9.1.6 Freedom of Entry to a City

The Freedom of Entry to a City is a high honour granted to a regiment or military unit. This privilege entailed marching through the streets of the particular city to the sound of beating drums (drawing the public's attention), whilst displaying their Colours and weaponry (Picard, 1990:2), as can be seen on the photograph below.⁴³²

⁴³¹ The June 1976 issue of *Paratus* featured a photograph of 3 SAI in Potchefstroom trooping the Colours (Potchefstroom parade, 1976:29). There is also evidence of cadets that performed the Trooping the Colour ceremony, e.g. the Queens College Cadets (An unique honour for the Queens College Cadets, 1984:35). For more on this, see also the section, 'Military sensitization and Conscription – Youth movements – The Cadet Movement' in this study. Further examples or mention of units performing the Trooping the Colour ceremony include the Transvaal Scottish Regiment Band, a 'ceremonial showpiece' known for their performance of the Trooping the Colour (Roodt, 1985f:8).

⁴³² This section makes no detailed mention of Freedom of entry to City ceremonies, as most of these have been incorporated into this study elsewhere.

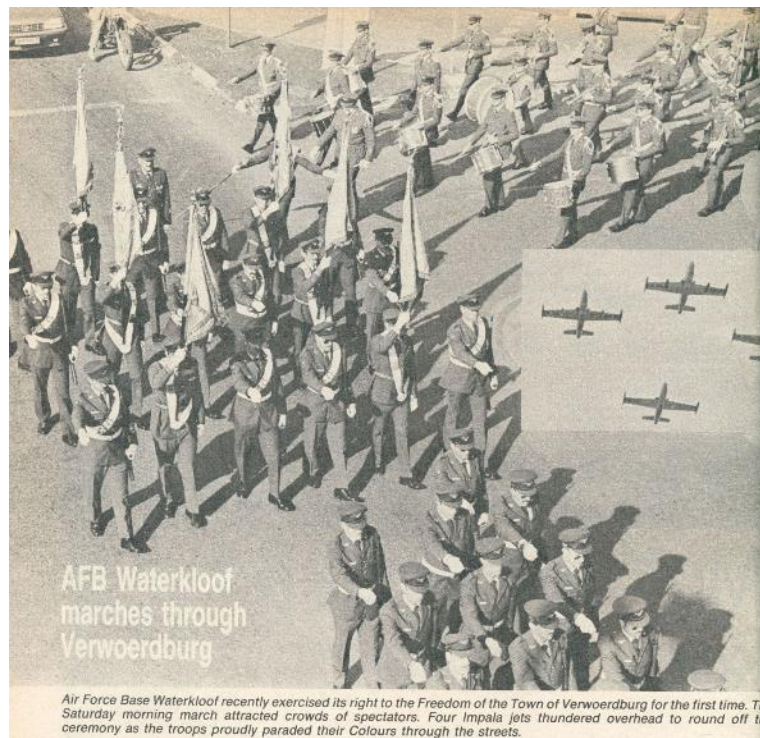


Figure 83: Air Force Base Waterkloof exercising its Freedom of the Town of Verwoerdburg
(AFB Waterkloof marches through Verwoerdburg, 1984:20).

9.2 Festivals

The SADF played a prominent role in a number of festivals such as the Dias Festival, the Republic Festival, the Knysna Winter Festival (Navy beats the bar, 1984:6) and the Afrikaans Language Festival with the centenary of the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* at the Afrikaans Language Monument in the Paarl. The Language Festival, attended by some 40 000 spectators (which included the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence and various dignitaries), also featured performances by the SA Navy and SA Cape Corps Bands, an air show that spelled out the figures 100 in the colours of the old National Flag, a church service, the singing of *Die Stem* and the hoisting of the National Flag (Die SAW lewer 'n besonderse bydrae, 1975:14).

9.2.1 The Republic Festival

The July 1966 issue of *Commando* featured a number of articles with photographs of the fifth celebration of South Africa becoming a republic under the title, 'Staggering SADF parade' (1966:6-36). The 1966 event at the Voortrekker Monument near Pretoria featured close to 20

000 soldiers with the mechanised component spanning 1.2 miles and the marching section 1.5 miles participating in the parade. The terrain itself hosted a large number of tents, of which 44 were kitchens and reserved for food preparation for the soldiers (Logistieke statistieke van die groot parade, 1966:8-9) and one as a recruiting tent (Staggering SADF parade, 1966:6). For the event, 300 loudspeakers were installed (Logistieke statistieke, 1966:8-9).⁴³³ The photograph below indicates the enormity and the number of people attending the celebration.⁴³⁴ The sheer scale of the military presence and activity at this nationalist event set the trend for future Republic Day celebrations.



Figure 84: With the crowd at the big parade (Brown, 1966:13).

⁴³³ *Commando* indicated the use of taxpayers' money as follows: 'En die Weermag kon trots voel. [...] Ook die belastingbetaler kan tevrede voel. Die premie wat hy help betaal vir Suid-Afrika se lewensversekering is klaarblyklik goed bestee' ['And the Army can feel proud. [...] Even the taxpayer can feel satisfied. The instalment that they help to pay for South Africa's life insurance is clearly well spent'] (Logistieke statistieke, 1966:8).

⁴³⁴ A description of the attendance by masses of people reads as follows: 'Wat 'n mensemassa! Dis oud en jonk, mooi en lelik, grooi en klein. Van heinde en verre het hulle gekom om die Republiek se vyfde verjaardag te vier.' ['What a mass of people! It's old and young, pretty and ugly, big and small. From all over they came to celebrate the Republic's fifth birthday'] (Rondom Eeufesweg op Republiek-verjaardag, 1966:11).

In line with the large scale of the event, the occasion also featured a mass choir that sang works familiar to the audience. At sunset the Naval Gymnasium, accompanied by bands, participated in a flag-lowering parade. Then the Prime Minister Verwoerd, who was enthusiastically applauded, delivered a speech, followed by the masses singing folk songs ('volksliedjies') (Rondom Eeufesweg, 1966:11).⁴³⁵ As in other highlighted events, music continued to play a prominent role. We read about familiar songs, band performances and folk songs. Folk songs, in particular, speak of culture and identity, and would not only elicit feelings of patriotism, but would also increase a sense of unity. The mass attendance and participation at such an event is indicative of the extent of militarisation of South African society at large and the degree to which white society accepted the role of the SADF as saviour of the nation.

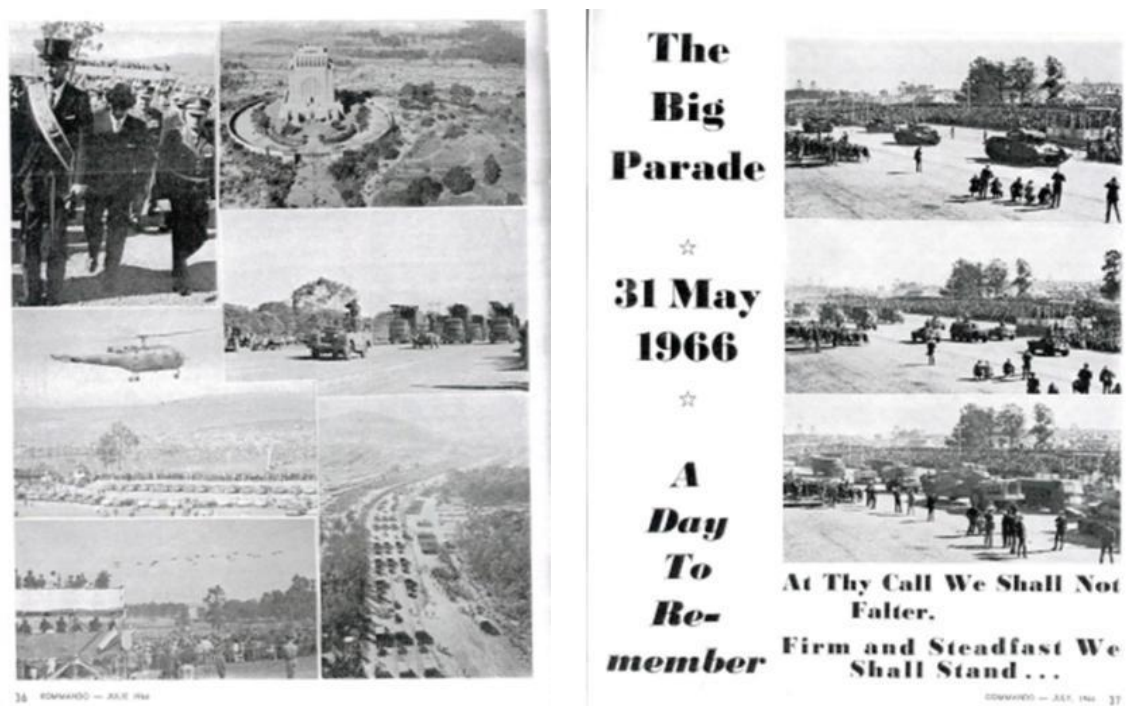


Figure 85: The big parade: 31 May 1966: A day to remember (1966:36-37).

⁴³⁵ See also Warwick (2009:435-439) for a description of the SADF and Republic Day celebrations.

A 9-page article with photographs of the 1971 Republic Day festivities depicted mass parades, musicians and military hardware displays (Sonskyn en skouspel, 1971:24-31, 70). The order of formalities for the day, attended by more than a quarter of a million spectators, proceeded with a flag-hoisting ceremony by the State President's Guard in combination with the National Anthem accompanied by the Army Band, the State President's Guard marching to the podium, accompanied by the combined Army, Air Force and Navy Bands, and the arrival of the State President (accompanied by dignitaries) at the podium where he was welcomed with the National Salute. In conjunction with this, five Impala aircraft of the South African Air Force flew past (salute flight) and a large-scale Army parade with more than 200 aircraft and artillery displays, followed by marching troops carrying standards took place.

Celebrations for the 1981 Republic Festival involved activities in different parts of the country. Events included a women's gym team (Dertien Weermagvroue in span vir Republiekfees, 1981:83), celebrations in Port Elizabeth, which included a wreath-laying ceremony and a procession, also featuring cadets and armoured cars (Kleurryke optog in die Baai, 1981:17), and in Cape Town a parade with various units and their bands (1 SA Cape Corps Battalion, 10 Anti-Aircraft Regiment, Cape Town Rifles, Cape Town Highlanders, and the SA Air Force and SA Navy Bands) participating in the march past, folk dancing (South African, Portuguese, English, Scottish, German, Austrian and Greek) and a Festival concert by CAPAB at the Good Hope Centre (Traditional dancing in Cape Town, 1981:17). The event in Durban received considerable coverage with colour photographs in the July 1981 issue of *Paratus* (Figure 86 below). Although soldiers of China and Chile were present, the main event was reserved for South Africa. The parade included a march by an honorary guard and standard-bearers that positioned themselves in front of the podium, a National 21-gun salute,⁴³⁶ followed by war veterans, military hardware of the First World War, various SADF battalions, air craft displays and motorised columns, exhibiting South Africa's wealth in manpower and military prowess ('iron fist') to the world (Onvergeetlike militêre vertoon deur magtige SA Weermag. 1981:6-

⁴³⁶ Davies (1976:22) writes that the custom of firing 21 shots derives from an old tradition at sea whereby a ship entering a harbour fired a salute of 7 shots, answered by 3 for each shot fired. A 21-gun salute is the highest national honour.

7). This is also suggested by the heading, ‘Onvergeetlike militêre vertoon deur magtige SA Weermag’ [‘Unforgettable display by mighty SADF’]. *YouTube* footage by Kevin Harris (2011) from his 1983 documentary, *No middle road to freedom*, provides a clear insight into the enormity of such a large scale parade. The parade section in this footage starts with the camera focussing on a helicopter fly-past, then moving towards columns of marching soldiers accompanied by martial music. Further on, in the background, civilians can be seen sitting on top of shop verandas with military hardware passing by in the foreground. In viewing this footage, music seems pivotal in negotiating the affective continuity between festivity, ceremony and violence in a choreography that can perhaps be described as the spectacle of militarisation.



Figure 86: SADF military parade (Onvergeetlike militêre vertoon, 1981:6-7).

Republic Day celebrations in different geographical locations included those in the Caprivi in 1984 (Du Toit, 1984:28) and at the South African Embassy in Paris in 1989 (Republic Day celebrated in Paris, 1989:8). The celebrations in the Caprivi drew attendees from Mpacha and Katima Mulilo as spectators and featured troops from the Caprivi, Engineers, the Air Force,

Marines, the SA Cape Corps, Citizen Force gunners, the Infantry and the 21 Battalion Band. There were also displays of armoured cars and aeroplanes (Du Toit, 1984:28). Large-scale parades, reminiscent of the large-scale military parades of the German, Russian and Allied Forces (Figure 86), meant both soldiers and civilians were deeply involved and moved. Music at these events varied from folk songs, to bands accompanying processions and marches music at wreath-laying ceremonies, folk dancing, concert performances and the singing of the National Anthem, accompanied by military band. Music thus formed an essential part of the choreography in the spectacle of militarisation.

9.2.2 The Dias Festival

February 1488, when Bartolomeu Dias set foot in Mossel Bay (southern Cape), was celebrated 500 years later during the course of 1988. For the Mossel Bay anniversary, a replica of Dias's wooden caravel was built in Portugal and was to dock at Mossel Bay.

First (29 January), the SAS Protea docked, followed by numbers of catamarans for the SA Hobie Cat National Championships (30 January), the Anglo-Alpha Dias yacht race (31 January) and the arrival of Navy craft to participate in the festival (1 February). On 2 February, the SA Navy participated in a Freedom of Entry parade, while the arrival of the caravel the following day was the highlight of the Festival. The caravel was met by the SAS Protea (carrying the State President and his wife, the Minister of Defence, the Chief of the SADF, Chief of the Navy, the Administrator of the Cape, 'and their ladies') and greeted by a 21-gun salute. When they arrived ashore, 'Die Stem' and the Portuguese National Anthem were played. The State President delivered a speech and referred to the significance of the Cape sea route, which Dias had named the 'Cape of Storms', but King John II of Portugal had renamed it as the 'Cape of Good Hope'. The SA Air Force Silver Falcons air acrobatic team gave a display, helicopters with the South African, Portuguese and Festival flags flew past and doves were released above the crowd. On-shore activities included an exhibition at the Maritime Museum (where the caravel was later permanently hosted) and displays on naval ships such as the SAS Protea. By giving civilians access to military property, a privilege afforded to them during festivals and open days, a more significant awareness of the military was created. A tent town, hosting the SADF participants, was constructed and the dock area featured a Portuguese village, as well as goods and food stalls. The arrival of the caravel was witnessed by the

dignitaries and military staff and the over 20 000 spectators present. The official opening in the Van Riebeeck Stadium (6 000 seats), featured the SA Navy Band,⁴³⁷ Cape Town drum majorettes, the Good Hope entertainers and tumblers, members from 2 SA Cape Corps Battalion who gave a precision drill display,⁴³⁸ a flag-hoisting ceremony, a fireworks display, folk dancing and a gun salute by the SAS Protea (Fried, 1988e:36-38).

The Freedom of Entry parade (covered by foreign and local media), included the presentation of the scroll from the Mayor to the Chief of the Navy. The SA Navy Band (‘stalwart’ of the Festival and ‘effective representative of the SA Navy’) was involved for the nine days of the Festival and led the Navy contingent from Market Square. Further performances were noted with the docking of the SAS Protea and, together with the CAPAB Symphony Orchestra, at the Miss Dias 500 Coronation Ball in the Cape Town City Hall (Fried, 1988e:36-37). The participation and prominence of the SA Navy Band at this event, indicates the role of music in an attempt to display the organisation (SADF) at large. These events also highlighted the ceremonial function of the military band as opposed to earlier days where the musician’s role was confined mostly to the battleground. The combined performance of the CAPAB Symphony Orchestra and the SA Navy Band at a public event (Miss Dias 500 Coronation Ball) is a further example of the process of militarisation intertwining the military and civilian spheres.

[Photograph on next page]

⁴³⁷ See ‘1988 Dias Festival, Mossel Bay: 3’ (2019) for video footage of the SA Navy Band.

⁴³⁸ See ‘1988 Dias Festival, Mossel Bay: 7’ (2019) for video footage of the SA Cape Corps drill display.

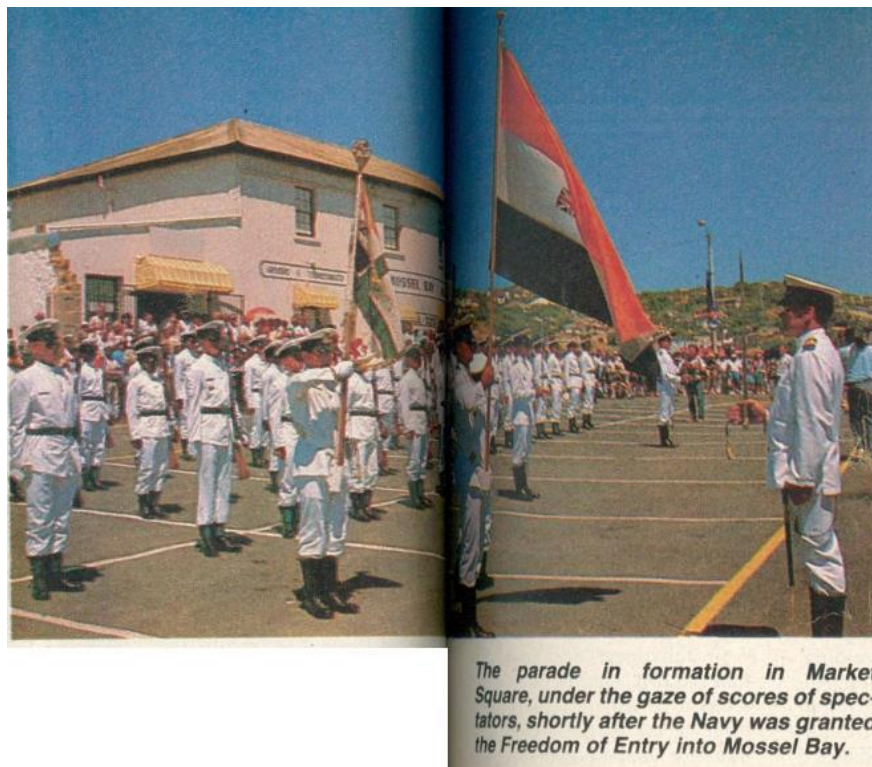


Figure 87: SA Navy Freedom of Entry parade at the Dias Festival (Fried, 1988e:36-37).

The Dias Festival was not merely confined to the town of Mossel Bay, as it also involved other parts of the country including Walvis Bay, South West Africa.⁴³⁹ The Castle event in Cape Town featured the Castle Guard ushering the ‘Prince and Princess of Saldania’ (acted by Alex Pestana and Fatima Telo) to their seats (‘ceremonial thrones’). Attendees further included high-ranking military officials, Councillors and Portuguese community leaders. A performance by the SA Navy Band led to a fanfare and a cry of ‘Hear ye, citizens of Cape Town’, upon which the ‘Prince and Princess’ were seated to view performances in Portuguese, Afrikaans and English by Primary School Totius (re-enactment of the Dias voyage to ‘plant’ this history ‘in the minds of the youth [for] posterity’), the Rondebosch Boys’ High School Chamber Choir, the SADF Ladies’ Dance Group, The SA Cape Corps singing group Golf Company,⁴⁴⁰ the SA Navy Band

⁴³⁹ The festival in Walvis Bay took place from 15 to 17 July 1988 (Dias Festival held in Walvis Bay, 1988:36).

⁴⁴⁰ The tercentenary celebrations of the Castle in 1966 also included a flag-lowering ceremony attended by the SA Cape Corps (although there is not any mention of them performing any music).

with Portuguese music, and a Portuguese Singing and Dance Group in traditional costumes (Fees in die Kasteel, 1988:7). In July the Naval Command East Band was present at the docking of the replica of the Bartolomeu Dias caravel in Durban, where they played the South African and Portuguese national anthems (Leslie, 1988b:29). The planting of a replica Dias cross at Kwaaihoek (Eastern Cape) in the presence of 4 000 people entailed a re-enactment of Dias's landing, a performance of dancers from the Portuguese Association, a fly-past of helicopters and the release of 500 pigeons (Fried, 1988g:6). The caravel docked at Port Elizabeth (A friendly welcome in P.E., 1988:7) on its way to Durban, where the Naval Command East Band played the South African and Portuguese National Anthems. After a speech by the Chairman of the Festival Committee, the SA Police Band displayed their precision marching skills, accompanied by music. Then the Mayor of Durban spoke and there was a performance by drum majorettes from Pinetown Girls' High School. A Navy Open Day also formed part of the festivities (Leslie, 1988b:29). To honour the Portuguese community in Port Elizabeth, the SA Cape Corps Band performed at a military ball. The programme for the event in the decorated hall included food prepared by a chef 'imported' from Messina, a military exhibition in the foyer, and performances by Portuguese dancers and the SA Cape Corps Band (Kmdmt OP huldig Portugese gemeenskap, 1988:43). To sensitize the public militarily, the event started with military exhibitions to set the scene. In 1989, the Bartolomeu Dias Maritime Museum was opened in Mossel Bay, where the replica of the caravel was eventually housed (Van Niekerk, 1989:27). The geographic extent, duration and costs involved in the Dias celebrations clearly conveyed the importance which the government placed on such an event that attempted to portray a multi-cultural country (in an apartheid context) with re-enactments of 'indigenous inhabitants' by whites (Witz, 2006:188) discovered by white 'civilization'. Enacting, celebrating, and actually protecting the histories of those who sailed around the Cape and established 'civilization' in this part of the world created a greater urgency to protect South Africa against the communist enemy, and with this, brought a larger racial divide.

Festivals such as the Dias and Republic Festivals link with what Temple Hauptfleisch (2004:283, 297) calls 'eventification', where everyday life activities, especially in art, are turned into events. Hauptfleisch illustrates how characteristics of cultural festivals, including aspects such as sponsors, the media, cultural and national politics, artists, audiences, facilities, geography, commercial interests, the general public, economy and politics, playing culture, and towns or communities, each contribute to creating meaning (Hauptfleisch, 2007:43-44). These

ingredients are also identifiable as part of the Dias and Republic Festivals, which were unashamed celebrations of colonial history and therefore of apartheid ideology. The events themselves would have been unimaginable without music oiling the transitions between civilian festivities and military propaganda.

9.3 Anniversaries, celebrations and inaugurations

Official events included anniversaries, celebrations, inaugurations, farewell and independence ceremonies, commemoration services, and official birthday celebrations, generally featuring parades, speeches, flag-hoisting and -lowering ceremonies and the singing of the National Anthem. Where events have not been addressed in much detail in this study, this section will provide brief descriptions, with some prominence to selected events.

9.3.1 SADF birthday celebrations

SADF birthday celebrations mostly stretched over a period of days and generally included parades, mock attacks, music concerts and evening military function such as a ball or a concert. For the 70th anniversary celebration of the SADF (1912-1982) in Bloemfontein some 3 000 spectators participated. They gradually arrived at the Bloemfontein city centre to the sounds of the SA Cape Corps and Army Bands. Then, in due course, the dignitaries started arriving. When the fanfare sounded, the Minister of Defence, the Head of the Army and the Officer Commanding of Command Orange Free State stepped onto the podium. The flags were raised. The Band played the general salute, followed by a salute from the Minister of Defence. The reading of a passage from the Bible was followed by prayer. *Honoris Crux* medals were awarded. The flag lowering and handing over preceded a 17-gun salute. The march past included 180 military vehicles and 1 200 soldiers and the message delivered by the Minister of Defence, included the topic of sacrifice for freedom and South Africa as ‘free nation’ [‘vrye volk’] (SAW 1912-1982 = SADF 1912-1982: ’n Glorieryke dag toe die SAW verjaar, 1982:49). The programme included a military ball, arranged by the Command Orange Free State, the film premiere of *The salamander* (to make the public aware of the SA Medical Service), a military music concert and a popular music concert. The SADF Church Choir performed military songs, while the various military bands performed military music. 1 SA Infantry Battalion arranged a variety concert featuring Lelani and magician Martino Britz, and singer Tommy Dell, accompanied by Hansie Roodt’s band (SAW 1912-1982: Musiek was deel van die

verjaardagspyskaart, 1982:51). *Paratus* reported extensively on the military power display and the demolition of a mock terrorist base, with only half a page (out of eight pages) devoted to music, providing basic information on the music performances included in the programme (SAW 1912-1982 = SADF 1912-1982: 'n Glorieryke dag, 1982:42-45, 48-51; SAW 1912-1982: Musiek was deel, 1982:51). Even so, the title, 'Musiek was deel van die verjaardagspyskaart' ['Music was part of the birthday menu'] for the 70th anniversary celebration, gives more emphasis on the presence of music during these celebrations. To gain civilian support, the state incorporated aspects that were close to the hearts of broader society. Scripture readings were thus used as a tool by the apartheid government to justify the war and to alleviate the harshness of events in apartheid South Africa. This is evidenced by readings from the Bible in combination with anti-Swapo and anti-communist propaganda, along with the usual military spectacle, as mentioned at the beginning of this section.

The preparation for such an event entailed days of rehearsing, as demonstrated by the description for the SADF 71st anniversary celebration in Port Elizabeth. The city was infused with a military atmosphere with the presence of war ships while, on the day of the parade, civilians started lining up at King's Beach not to miss the action. To accompany the military events and atmosphere, the performance by the combined SA Army and SA Cape Corps Bands indicates the use of music as an agent to influence civilians in favour of the military. After the arrival of the guests (dignitaries, high-ranking military officials, international guests and homelands leaders), Navy ships entering Algoa Bay preceded the arrival of the Minister of Defence, Lieutenant-general Geldenhuys and the Officer in Command, Eastern Province (Brigadier C.P. van der Westhuizen) to the dais. Following the general formula, the SADF flag was handed over by the hosts of the previous year's event to the hosts of the current event to be kept for a year.⁴⁴¹ After the 17-gun salute, there was a march past (Commanding officers, members of the MOTHS, school cadets, followed by military vehicles) a fly-past (9 Impala jets) and sail past. The event also included a static weapons display, the participation of four

⁴⁴¹ These are the 'Keepers of the Flag' (Martins, 1988:6-8).

military bands (no specifications given) and the general anti-SWAPO propaganda speech (SA Weermag 71 jaar oud = SA Defence Force 71 years old, 1983:26-28).

Kimberley hosted the SADF 72nd anniversary celebration on 29 June 1984. The 1 Maintenance Unit Band performed at the beginning of the parade, after which flag-bearers (carrying 100 flags) lined up at the podium. For this occasion, the Guard of Honour from each Arm of Service was led by the SA Cape Corps (John, 1984a:34-36). The photograph below depicts the military spectacle of dignitaries, military hardware and the large-scale military parade, as captured in the title, 'glittering occasion' (John, 1984a:35).

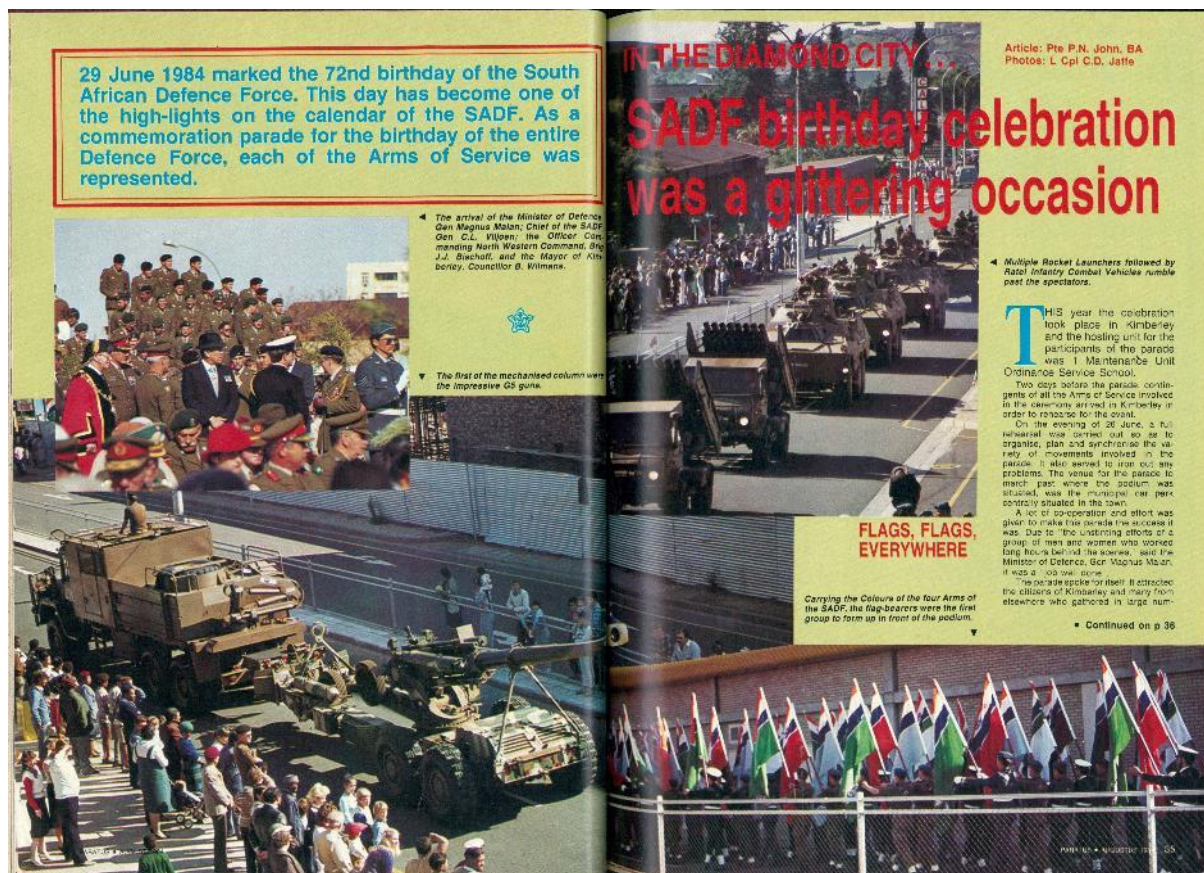


Figure 88: SADF 72 years (John, 1984a:34-35).

As part of the SADF 75th anniversary parade in Bellville, the SA Cape Corps Band participated with the Guard of Honour in a Retreat ceremony (Fried, 1987d:42). 'Winners', a concert held at the Nico Malan Opera House in Cape Town during the SADF's 75th anniversary, employed the 'best of the Army bands', which included the SA Army, Light Horse and 21 Battalion Bands, to 'form this unique harmonic combination' whereby male and female members of all

races, Permanent Force members and National Servicemen were to be represented (Cohen, 1987a:49). Under the direction of Major Neville Roe, the following works were performed: ‘Chariots of fire’ (Vangelis), ‘Here’s to the winners’ (Frank Sinatra), themes from the films, *Rocky* and *Superman*, ending with ‘We are champions’, suggesting the SADF as champions. Artists included Aviva Pelham, Randall Wicomb, Ben Illeman, Ken Higgins, Rozanne Botha, Verushka and Alida White. The occasion, with a combination that was seen as a ‘first in the history of the South African Defence Force bands’, was broadcast on television by the SABC (Cohen, 1987a:49).⁴⁴² The broadcasting of this event, featuring multi-racial performances to show harmony across race and gender, in a key civilian space of a concert hall (Nico Malan Opera House), with a combination of military (in military outfits) and civilian musicians via a government-owned television broadcasting network, reinforced the idea of militarisation across racial boundaries, whereby the military filtered into public arenas (public spaces and civilian homes via television). Again, the venue in combination with the presence of well-known personalities in the entertainment industry suggested the notion of things reserved for a certain privileged audience. The theme ‘Winners’ clearly suggested the SADF and most likely included those who participated in SADF activities, thus suggesting those who stood outside of this realm were ‘losers’. At this two-day celebration in Cape Town, the State President’s speech was delivered by a diver who swam ashore after being dropped into the ocean. This drama was duly concluded, with the performance of the SA Cape Corps Band (Thousands watch birthday celebrations in Cape Town, 1987:24-27). The dramatic handover of the State President’s speech by a diver, dropped by a helicopter and swimming to the shore (photograph below), reminds of Hauptfleisch’s (2004:283, 297) ‘eventification’, with military history celebrated in a spectacular manner (Hauptfleisch, 2007:40).

⁴⁴² The SADF 75th anniversary celebrations further included the SA Navy in Port Elizabeth and East London with the SAS Jalsena Band from Durban (Navy celebrates SADF 75 in PE and East London, 1987:10-11), a function in Verwoerdburg, featuring members of Air Force Base Waterkloof, Irene Commando and the SA Air Force Band (Vliegtuie en tamboere dreun in Verwoerdburg, 1987:20), and a function at Potchefstroom, which featured the bands of 21 Battalion, the SAMS and the Potchefstroom Boys’ High School (Van de Venter, 1987b:6-9). The article about the Potchefstroom celebration by Van de Venter (1987b:6-9) in *Paratus* spanned four pages with colour photographs.

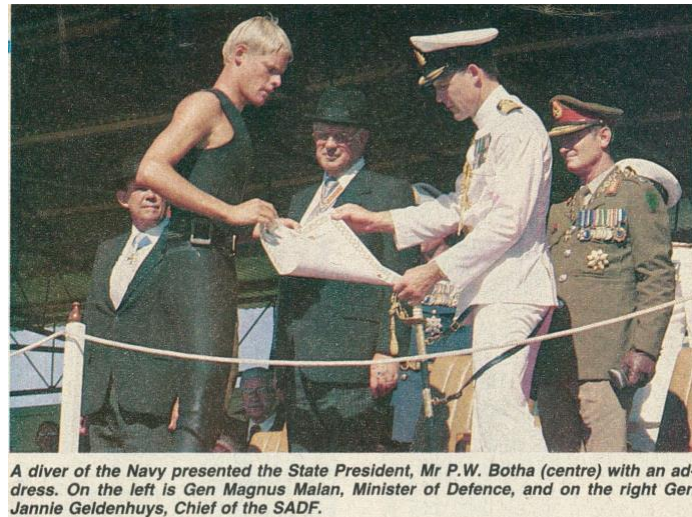


Figure 89: SA Navy diver handing address to State President (Thousands watch birthday celebrations, 1987:25).



Figure 90: SADF 75 years (Thousands watch birthday celebrations, 1987:26-27).

The 1988 SADF anniversary celebration in Durban coincided with the Dias and Huguenot Festivals and included a performance by Portuguese and French folk dancers. A military veterans battalion, motorcyclists, standard bearers (led by the 121 Battalion Band), a Citizen Force band (combined band of the Natal Carbineers, Durban Light Infantry and Natal Mounted Rifles), and a platoon consisting members of the Army, Air Force, Navy and Medical Service preceded the mechanised columns (Martins, 1988:6-8). Differing aspects for the SADF's 77th anniversary, which coincided with the farewell parade for the State President P.W. Botha, included a folk dance group from the South African Women's College and the first appearance of 32 Battalion in a parade in South Africa and Cape Town (Jooste, 1989c:16-17).⁴⁴³



Figure 91: SADF 77 years and farewell parade for State President (Jooste, 1989c:16-17).

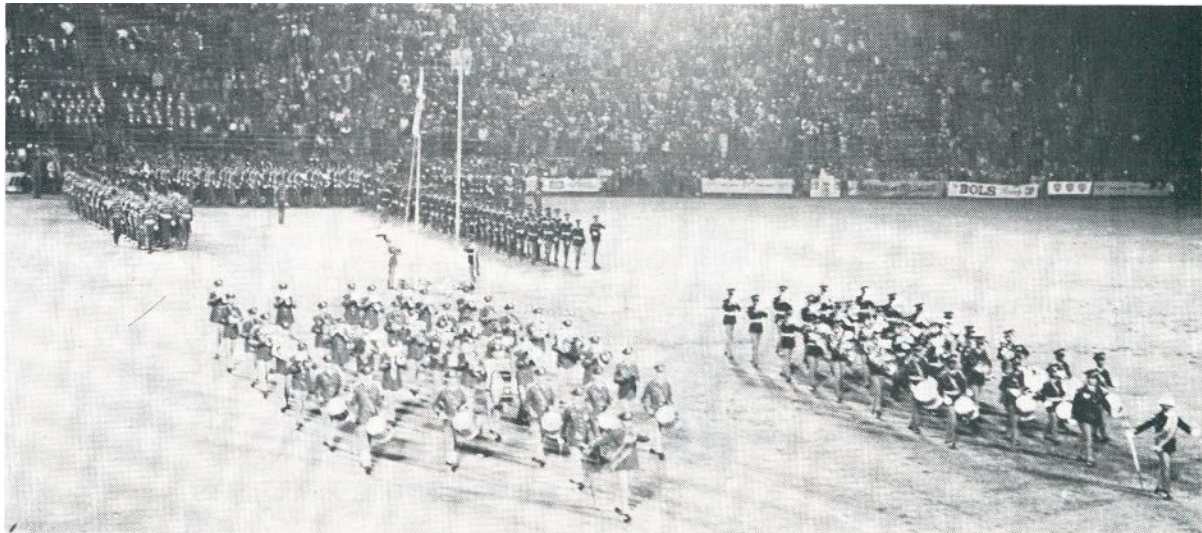
⁴⁴³ 32 Battalion was a specialist counterinsurgency unit, formed in 1975. They consisted of black and white mercenaries from foreign and southern African countries (including Angola), and were mostly operative in Angola (Cawthra, 1986:77-78).

The above photographs give a fair visual representation of these parades as medium to familiarise the public with the SADF. Numerous photographs in *Paratus* depicting mass parades and displays of armaments in the coverage of the SADF anniversary celebrations clearly reveal a ‘love of parades’ (Alexandra, 1993:217) as a major characteristic of militarisation. Public displays such as memorial services, mock terrorist attacks and the destruction of mock terrorist bases elaborated the construct of a common feared enemy against which the SADF was protecting the nation. It is also noticeable that each event highlighted different facets of the SADF: air power (aircraft displays and fly pasts), sea power (Navy ships and a diver abseiling from a helicopter, handing over a speech) and dominance and ownership (infantry, cavalry and tanks). From the descriptions and photographs, it is evident that these events progressively increased in size and military ability, suggesting progress in the capabilities of the SADF as protectors of the ‘great country worth living in and fighting for’ (Thousands watch birthday celebrations, 1987:26-27). In some or other way, music (folk dancing, dance parties, band participation) provided a rousing, yet a reassuring accompaniment to these events, reinforcing the wellbeing of (white) South Africans. The fact that music was present at these events allow for the conclusion that it was essential to militarisation. The music predominantly featured martial music, but also included civilian music with a military inflection as well as lively music, both increasing excitement amongst audiences. These ceremonial events typically allowed for meaning and experiences to be shared between the military and civilians.

9.3.2 Independence celebrations

Further celebrations of an official nature included the independence and anniversaries of homelands, and anniversaries of units or institutions. During the Transkei independence celebration, the SA Army and 1 Transkei Battalion Bands led the military procession into Independence Stadium. The SA Army Band, together with the State President’s Guard on one side and the ceremonial company of the Transkei Battalion together with their band, formed the Guards of Honour. At midnight the South African flag was lowered, accompanied by ‘Die Stem’, followed by the raising of the Transkei flag, accompanied by ‘Nkosi sikelel’i Afrika’ (Leon, & Brews, 1976:20-22). Figure 92 (below) depicts the SA Army Band with 40 members and the 1 Transkei Battalion Band with 32 members with their drum majors. Both bands carry the same instruments, except for the omission of the bass drum in the 1 Transkei Battalion

Band. The differences in band size and omission of the bass drum in the 1 Transkei Battalion Band could be an indication of the availability of musicians for these bands, but perhaps also a suggestion that the SADF are taking the leading role.



Independence Eve at the 35 000-seater Independence Stadium. In the foreground are the SA Army Band (left) and the band of 1 Transkeian Battalion, both of whom led the military entry into the stadium.

Figure 92: SA Army Band and 1 Transkei Battalion Band at Transkei independence celebration (Leon, & Brews, 1976:20).

The photograph below depicts the State President's Guard accompanying Transkei President Matanzima and President Marais Viljoen during Matanzima's visit to South Africa in 1981 (Pres Matanzima beïndruk deur Vloot se slaankrag, 1981:75).⁴⁴⁴ Mention of this visit, with the caption, 'Pres Matanzima beïndruk deur Vloot se slaankrag' ['Pres Matanzima impressed by Navy's power'], confirms the influence and control by the apartheid state and the SADF on the homelands.

⁴⁴⁴ Marais Viljoen (1915-2007), fifth State President of South Africa (1979-1984), President of the Senate (1976-1979).



Figure 93: Pres Matanzima beïndruk deur Vloot se slaankrag (1981:75).

Although the article on the independence of the Ciskei (Ciskei skaar hom nie by lafaards, 1982:8) featured the anti-communism speech by President Lennox Sebe of Ciskei, a photograph of individual members of the SA Army Band gives evidence of music performed at that occasion.⁴⁴⁵



Figure 94: Members of the SA Army Band (Ciskei skaar hom nie by lafaards, 1982:8).

⁴⁴⁵ See Cawthra (1986:130) for more information on the Ciskei Security Force.

A *YouTube* documentary on the Bophuthatswana independence celebration, and preparations for the celebration, states that the event followed a similar pattern to the Transkei celebrations (AP Archive, 2015a). In the absence of suitable physical infrastructure (still to be built in collaboration with South Africa), tents were erected to accommodate some 18 000 attendees for the duration of the five days' celebrations. The documentary features the State President's Guard, Tswana drum majorettes warming up for their performance, a male troupe performing music on side-drums (practicing for their performance on the day), a gymnastic display, and runners holding the torches of independence. It further mentions activities such as a football match and traditional dancing. It also appears that the celebration was somewhat toned down as no heads of state, royal representatives and ambassadors were to be present. This could indicate that financial investment in the homelands was not regarded as a high priority by the apartheid government. The lowering of the South African flag was accompanied by 'Die Stem', performed by military band (no visual footage of the band), while the Bophuthatswana flag was hoisted to the Bophuthatswana National Anthem, also performed by military band (no visual footage of the band).

The 5th anniversary celebration of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF) on 23 November 1984 at Molopo Military Base (outside Mafikeng) included a revue parade, the presentation of medals, performances by the Bophuthatswana Defence Force Band, a family day and a church parade (Aarons, 1985b:34-35). Clearly, the scale of the homelands independence celebrations and anniversaries is no match for those of the SADF birthday celebrations, or the South African Republic or Dias festival commemorations. Although perceptions in *Paratus* gave the impression that the SADF invested ample time and finances in the homelands, the reality seemed different, if one were to take these festivals and celebrations as a barometer. Judging by the images above and the sounds of the bands, as derived from the footage, it is evident that the band sounds of these independent states reflected similarities to those of the SADF. This means that musically these structures intoned the same military culture as the SADF (with its links with the SADF), and symbolized continuity not only with the military tradition of the apartheid state, but also its ideology.

9.3.3 Anniversaries

A week of choir performances, carnivals and historic representations, with the Army Day as a highlight, marked the centenary for Barberton.⁴⁴⁶ Led by the 36-member Band of Command Northern Transvaal, the procession included military vehicles, four companies (State President's Guard, 4 SA Infantry Battalion, The Transvaal Scottish Regiment and the Irish Regiment), veterans (MOTHs), and a Scottish band, followed by events in the stadium. These comprised the drum majorettes from High School Barberton, military displays, a speech by a Council member, a parabat display, a horse demonstration, dog show, music by the band of Command Northern Transvaal, a motorcycle show and a mock attack against SWAPO's 'geverfde kalante' ['painted rogues'], (Roodt, 1984:30-32). How the 'geverfde kalante' were painted is uncertain. Although this could be implying camouflage, it is more likely that white performers were painted black to represent SWAPO terrorists. A comment by Roodt on 'stiff musicians that march up and down, playing monotonous music', demonstrates an unusual perception of musicians. Yet this phrase is countered by another comment about 'lively music' and 'well-rehearsed dance paces' (1984:32).⁴⁴⁷

The 10th anniversary of the 72 Motorised Brigade in Germiston and Johannesburg in August 1984 featured the Nine Citizen Force Units, a motorised column (led by the 1 Light Horse Band), marching troops proceeding from Germiston to Johannesburg, a formal mess at the Alberton Civic Centre and the unveiling of a statue representing soldiers of the Brigade. At both events, the salute was taken by the respective Mayors and high-ranking military officials. A church parade at the Alberton West Dutch Reformed Church was the final feature of the programme for the weekend (Aarons, 1984:34-35).

Ermelo Commando's 10th anniversary started with a church parade and a service in the Dutch Reformed Church, a fun run (for which the Mayor arrived to enrol on a Buffel – an advanced mine-protected armoured personnel carrier), a barbeque, a wreath-laying ceremony and the

⁴⁴⁶ Formerly a location for a concentration camp for Boer women and children, built by the British during the Anglo-Boer War.

⁴⁴⁷ Phrases translated from Afrikaans to English by author.

unveiling of a plaque, where members of the Commando formed the Honorary Guard. These were accompanied by learners of the Ermelo Secondary School. Children also had the opportunity to draw pictures of a Buffel and visit the military base, where they were dressed in military uniforms, with guns, and where they ‘saluted the guys’ [‘die ooms gesalueer’]. There was also an evening performance by the Montoya Spanish Dance Group, followed by the next day’s highlight of a ‘colourful’ parade (in the pouring rain) led by the SA Army Band. The celebration ended with visits to a coal mine and power station (assets to protect or revenue to plough into the military) and, included a medal parade and dinner (Jansen van Rensburg, 1985a:13).⁴⁴⁸ Various levels and ages of people from civilian society were drawn into this event with its prominent military presence. The images below (figure 95) indicate the extent of militarisation incorporating people from a very young age.

[Photograph on next page]

⁴⁴⁸ Further examples of anniversaries included the 10th anniversary of 7 Infantry Division, which consisted of a ball, a march through the streets of Cape Town, a medal parade and the inauguration of a garden of remembrance (Hul opofferings was nie tevergeefs nie, 1985:54-55), the 50th anniversary of the Pretoria Highlanders (Hattingh, 1989a:42), the 25th anniversary of the Regiment Eastern Transvaal (Mills, 1989c:36-37) and the 75th anniversary of the Regiment Pretoria (Steyn, 1988b:9-10).



Figure 95: Ermelo Commando's ten-year anniversary (Jansen van Rensburg, 1985a:13).

A 6-page article, depicting, for most part, images of parades in public spaces, was devoted to the 130th anniversary celebration of the Prince Alfred's Guard (one of the oldest regiments) in Port Elizabeth.⁴⁴⁹ Reference was made of the band's participation (as the Port Elizabeth Rifle

⁴⁴⁹ See also 'New splendour for PAG Memorial' (1982:33).

Corps) during the visit of Prince Alfred, second son of Queen Victoria, in 1860 underscoring the band's century old history. The 60-member band, which included voluntary musicians, performed in a variety of ceremonies, one of which was the Dutch Reformed Church's Pentecostal festival (Roodt, 1986c:26-31).



Figure 96: The Band of the Prince Alfred's Guard (Roodt, 1986c:31).

The above-mentioned examples again illustrate mass participation by the military and public at events within military and public spaces. Ingredients to these events included bands, processions, parades (including church parades), drum majorettes, mock terrorist attacks and performances by civilians (for example, a Spanish dance group). The nature of these events is of a celebratory nature, which in itself points to excitement and festivity as experienced by both the military and civilians. The involvement of the religious aspect (participation in a Pentecostal festival and church parades) may point to maintaining a form of Christian Nationalism or implying religious approval, if not support or even motivation. At these events, music was there all along, creating a military ethos.

9.3.4 Commemoration services

Accounts of commemoration services in *Paratus* mostly honoured soldiers who had lost their lives in battle.⁴⁵⁰ Some of the articles covered personalities or places related to specific military incidents, and the occasions mostly included a wreath-laying ceremony, speeches, the ‘Final Lament’ and ‘The Last Post’.⁴⁵¹

The annual ‘Wits Week’ of the Wits Rifles (the theme for the 1968 Week as ‘Operation WR/DLR’ [Operation Wits Rifles/De la Rey]), included the presentation of trophies, a church service (Hymns sung during the church service included ‘Onward Christian soldiers’ and ‘Abide with Me’), beating the Retreat (Wits Rifles and their pipe band), a march past in slow and quick time, a wreath-laying ceremony followed by the ‘Last Post’, ‘Lament’ and the ‘Reveille’. Afterwards a cocktail party was held (Operation WR/DLR.: They feared no foe, 1968:33-35, 51). ‘They feared no foe’ implies that they were heroic, courageous and died deserving the full honour bestowed on them. Their sacrifice was not necessarily a ‘loss’ (for the individual family), but rather a celebration of courage, conveyed through the music present.

The Sunday closest to 11 November serves as commemoration for fallen soldiers from the two World Wars and the Border War. The MOTH occasion included a service, followed by the handing over of the MOTH Colour, the lighting of a candle and a wreath-laying ceremony. The ‘Lament’ and carrying the Colour were led by Pipe Major Allen Watters (MOTHs memorial service, 1981:31).⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰ See, for example, the commemoration services at Villiersdorp in the Cape (Villiersdorp vergeet nie gesneuweldes, 1982:27), and Delmar (1986d:11) for the commemoration, held in Kimberley, for SA Cape Corps members who had lost their lives (Delmar, 1986d:11).

⁴⁵¹ See the commemoration service of the Western Province Gunners’ Association (Men who ‘served the guns’ honoured, 1989:29).

⁴⁵² See also Lambert (1989:33), Hattingh (1989b:32), Hennop (1988b:24) and Dwyer (1988:25) on the various memorial services held in South Africa on Armistice Day.



Figure 97: MOTHS on Armistice Day (Hattingh, 1989b:32).

The Fort Klapperkop memorial service for those who lost their lives in defence of South Africa started off with National Servicemen at the corners of the monument, with their heads bowed and their rifles pointed to the ground (see example in Figure 98, below), and included readings from Scripture, playing the ‘Last Tattoo’ by two members of the SA Navy Band, and a wreath-laying ceremony accompanied by pipe music (Helde vereer: ‘Niemand leef vir homself nie’, 1982:26).⁴⁵³ The article heading, ‘Niemand leef vir homself nie’ [‘No-one lives for himself’] implies the selfless courage of the defenders of the country. In the photograph below, the soldier statue is partially surrounded by the public and SA Air Force Choir. A table with wreaths can be seen in the foreground. These are all visual symbols representing the military. While no mention is made of brass band performances as such, the performance by the SA Air Force Choir would have brought a more human dimension, associated with the emotional and spiritual, to the event.

⁴⁵³ See also McMillan (1986a:36) and Mills (1989d:6) on the annual memorial service held at Fort Klapperkop.

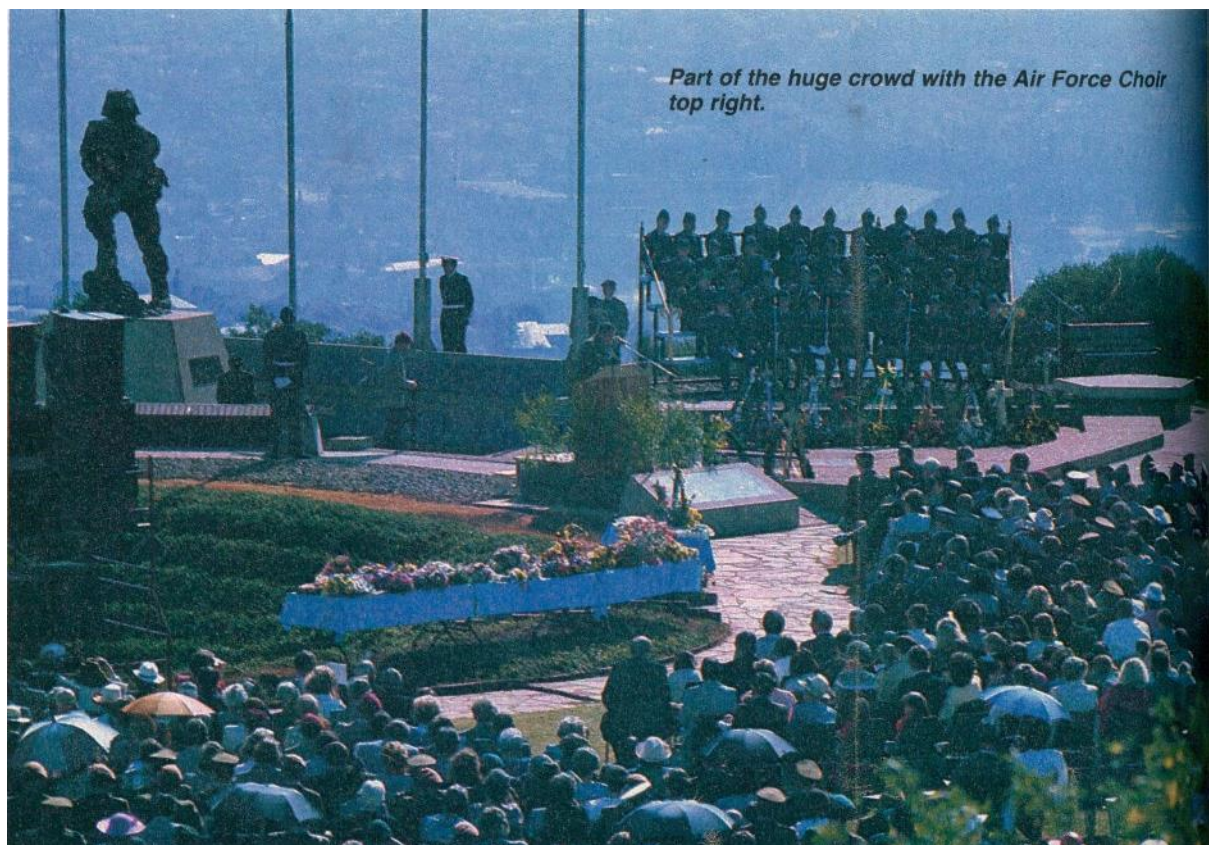


Figure 98: Air Force Choir at the Annual Memorial Service at Fort Klapperkop (Mills, 1989d:6).

A description for the annual memorial service at Sappersrust, which took place every first Sunday of May, gives a fair impression of the sombre atmosphere at the occasion (Smit, 1987:14):

Only the song of the birds can be heard at the Hall of Remembrance on the lonely hill [...]. The moving sound of the 'Last Post', played by a solitary trumpeter, breaks the silence temporarily. The ceremony continues in solemn silence.

Sapper delegates, with their wives behind them (all holding flowers), formed two rows in front of the Memorial Hall (facing the entrance). One at a time then entered the Hall to lay down the flowers: the men showing respect and the women representing the wives and mothers of Sappers who died in war (Smit, 1987:14). The idea of 'solemn silence' was also noted by Steyn (1987b:46) for a memorial service at the Union Buildings in Pretoria after the 'Last Tattoo', the huge gardens and the Union buildings enhancing the silence. The idea of silence featured

prominently in many of these examples. This ‘silence’ may have referred to the actual silence, the ‘silence’ of the single instruments depicting a solitary yet moving ‘silence’ conveyed through music or the voice of the soldiers now silenced. Again, the sound of music, with two bagpipes playing their ‘lament in the morning air’ (‘Terwyl twee doedelsakke hul klaaglied in die oggendlug aanhef’), conveys the reflective atmosphere during the 10th-year commemoration of 44 Parachute Brigade and their role in the Battle of Cassinga (4 May 1978) (Brigade onthou sy makkers, 1988:55).

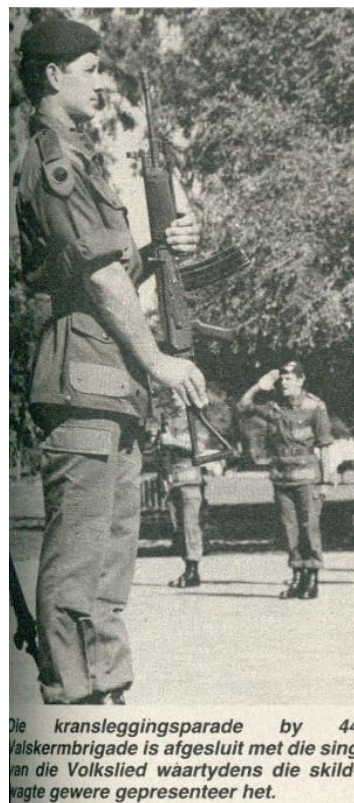
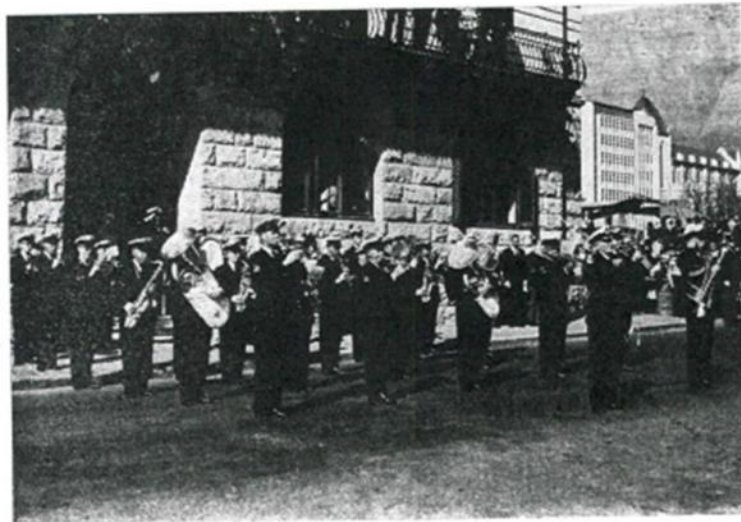
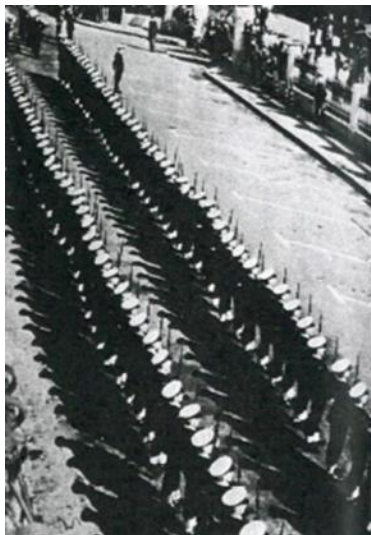


Figure 99: Presentation of arms during a wreath-laying ceremony (Brigade onthou sy makkers, 1988:55).

9.3.5 Opening of Parliament

Based on old custom for the Opening of Parliament, the band, Guard of Honour and State Guard awaited the President (led by members of Parliament, the SADF and SA Police), whose arrival was signalled by a fanfare. The ceremony further included the National Anthem and a 21-gun salute. The performance of the National Anthem during the Opening of Parliament hailed from 1938 at General Major Sir Pierre van Ryneveld's suggestion and the Honorary

Guard stood at the end of the Governor General's opening ceremony while the National Anthem ('Die Stem') was played. The Royal Salute fell away when South Africa became a republic in 1961 (Davies, 1976:22). At the 1966 Opening, and awaited by the Honorary Guard at attention (members of the SA Police), the State President (C.R. Swart)⁴⁵⁴ and his spouse stepped out of their vehicle onto the red carpet, where they paused while 'Die Stem' was played by the SA Navy Band and 21-gun salute was fired. After entering the Senate Hall where the State President delivered his address, the Guard took up the at-ease position. At the end of the speech the State President couple returned along the red carpet to their vehicle, after which the Honorary Guard marched away in single form (Spesiale Korrespondent, 1966:33). Indicative of stereotypes of race and class, the article (Spesiale Korrespondent, 1966:33) imitated the speech of the coloured person ('klong') who rolled up the carpet at the end of the event.⁴⁵⁵



34 KOMMANDO — OKTOBER 1966

Figure 100: Opening of Parliament 1966: Guard of Honour and SA Navy Band (Spesiale Korrespondent, 1966:34).

⁴⁵⁴ Charles Robberts Swart (1894-1982), first State President of South Africa (1961-1967).

⁴⁵⁵ 'Tja, Rooi Tapytjie, tjou joppie vir nineteen sixty-six is ok kla' ['Yes, Red carpet, your job for nineteen sixty six is done'] (Spesiale Korrespondent, 1966:33).

Associated Press Archive footage for the opening of the South African Parliament in 1978 features the arrival of Prime Minister John Vorster, Mrs Vorster, President Diederichs and Minister Jimmy Kruger (Minister for Prisons, Police and Justice) (AP Archive, 2015b). The State President is accompanied by the President's Guard on horseback, while the SA Cape Corps formed the honorary guard. The footage, shows Parliament Street (Cape Town) lined with civilians of various races, while the Navy Band leads a contingent from the SA Cape Corps. Initially, pipe music can be heard in the background, while brass music with dotted rhythms was performed by the SA Navy Band. Military band sounds can generally be heard at a distance, and the specific sound of the marching band has the ability to draw people (of various races) together (as often seen in images in *Paratus*) to witness the events where this music features (for example large-scale parades, as seen in Figure 101 below).



Figure 101: Opening of Parliament 1987 (Cohen, 1987c:32-33).

The Opening of Parliament in 1989 was a less splendid occasion because of the reported illness of the then State President, P.W. Botha. The SA Cape Corps Band led a small procession, which

included 21 members of the Navy and members of the State President's Guard, from Stalplein to the Parliament buildings to meet the acting State President (Chris Heunis). After the hour-long ceremony, the procession marched back to Stalplein, with 'the band playing as sweetly as ever' (Furter, 1989d:9), suggesting the perpetual positive reception of Band's performances.

9.3.6 Presidential inaugurations

Masses of spectators witnessed the inauguration (described as a 'simple' occasion) of South Africa's second State President J.J. Fouché in Cape Town in 1968.⁴⁵⁶ Highlights were a Guard of Honour (SA Police), a performance by the State President's Guard, a salute flight of 21 Impala aircraft and the SA Police Force Band playing the National Anthem. The arrival of the State President was announced by 12 trumpets, preceded by loud military commands outside the church. After the ceremony, a 21-gun salute sounded.⁴⁵⁷ The President, led by the Guard of Honour and an armed car squadron, then left for the parade ground. Nine helicopters flew past, while ships from the harbour sounded their sirens (Inhuldiging, 1968:9). The inauguration of South Africa's fourth State President, John Vorster, at Church Square featured a fly-past of 49 Mirages and 12 Impalas trailing coloured smoke in the colours of the former National Flag. His speech highlighted the strength of the SADF as a warning to its opposition (Event of the month: Our new president, 1978:23).

The 1983 Presidential inauguration entailed a parade stretching almost 2 kilometres with the participation of more than 3 000 soldiers, 80 vehicles and 100 aircraft (Impalas, Mirages and Puma and *Alouette* helicopters, and 18 Harvards in formation spelling out 'SP' for 'State President'). Preparations for this parade entailed complete rehearsals along the actual route through Pretoria the night before the actual parade (Mannekrag, vuurkrag en hulde, 1983:22-27).

⁴⁵⁶ Jacobus Johannes Fouché (1898-1980), second State President of South Africa (1968-1975), Minister of Defence (1959-1966).

⁴⁵⁷ Inaugurations generally featured the President's arrival announced by a trumpet fanfare and a 21-gun salute.

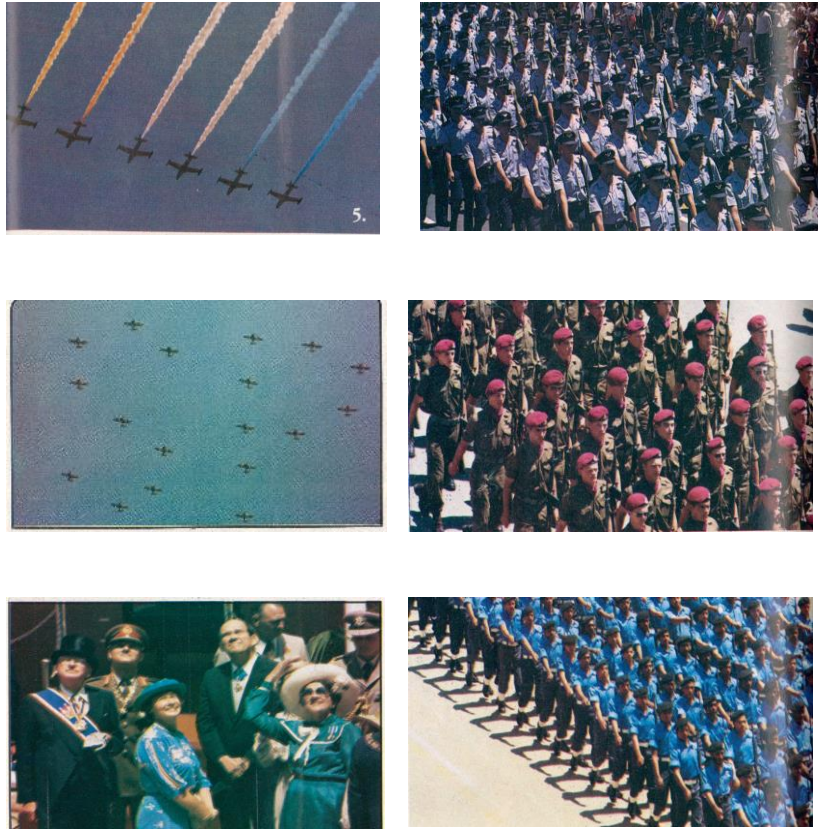


Figure 102: Presidential inauguration 1983 (Mannekrag, vuurkrag en hulde, 1983:22-27).

More than 1 500 soldiers participated in the inauguration of the first Executive State President, P.W. Botha, in 1984.⁴⁵⁸ The SA Air Force, SA Cape Corps, SA Police and Prison Service Bands performed, with the Tygerberg Children's Choir, Cape Welsh Choir and soprano Mimi Coertse at the church. Guests included UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi. The release of pigeons and balloons at the event symbolised 'peace' (Aarons & Le Chat, 1984:4-6). From the above descriptions, one can see the increase in the scale of these events, exhibiting military strength. One can also see how the SADF involved civilian choirs and performers as cultural exports as part of their militarisation strategy at these events. Specific mention of Dr Savimbi as guest

⁴⁵⁸ The position of Executive State President as head of state and government was instituted after constitutional reforms in 1984 (SAHO, n.d.a).

further contributed to the militarisation of black South Africans, indicating the fight against a common enemy.

The last Presidential inauguration in *Paratus*, was that of President F.W. de Klerk 1989 spanning two pages (Jooste, 1989d:36-37).⁴⁵⁹ With the exception of one photograph of a fly-past (also mentioned in *Paratus*), and no mention made of large-scale parades, the article focussed on the speech by De Klerk. The title, ‘Visie van vrede vir ‘n “Nuwe Suid-Afrika”’ [‘Vision of peace for a “New South Africa”’] indicates a political change, which included the removal of discriminatory laws (1989d:36-37). This was also the year that the SADF withdrew from Namibia (Van de Venter, 1989:10-11).

9.4 Summary

Malett *et al.* (2018: 70-82) point out in their example of the Royal Nova Scotia International Tattoo, that various types of government and military events instil national identity and patriotism by the inclusion of national themes, symbols and customs to evoke loyalty and to draw emotions of love and pride for a country and to create unity. The parade as a military ‘genre’ formed a substantial part of these events (as described above), further highlighting the successful blurring of military and civilian boundaries and creating unity. Ned Brown (1966:15) remarked that the parade could ‘move the hardest heart’ and mentioned that the added effects such as the martial music, uniforms or atmosphere contributed to stirring the emotions of the spectators that were present. He noted that the SA Navy’s outstanding retreat ceremony drew similar emotional reactions. In the November 1983 issue of *Paratus*, General Constand Viljoen referred to the large-scale Presidential Inauguration parade in Pretoria, broadcast on radio and television to enable civilians to see the military might of the SADF. At the same time these parades, openly displaying the country’s military prowess, served as a warning against the enemy. As the parade also played a role in building the morale of the Defence Force, it also drew respect, trust and gratitude from audiences (C SADF talks to his people, 1983:2).

⁴⁵⁹ Frederik Willem de Klerk (1936), seventh State President of South Africa (1989-1994).

If one reviews Ned Brown's comment in combination with that of General Viljoen, it is evident that a certain kind of military aesthetic (of which music formed part), visual representation (including numerous photographs of large-scale military parades in *Paratus*) and the emotive aspect of the parade contributed to the civilians' positive reception and perception. Generally, these were large-scale events that included participation from all levels of society (youth and adults), whether military or civilian, with a substantial presence of civilians as audience. In this manner, and with the help of the media, the government's anti-communist rhetoric spread to all corners of the country and South West Africa. Although these individual military customs, forming part of universal military customs, might not have been problematic in themselves, it is important to note the role they played in the wider context and the ideology of the time, thereby upholding and advancing the apartheid ideals. These events often included a hagiographic aspect by which the soldier (and thus the SADF) was elevated in society through memorial services for all fallen Servicemen or portrayed as heroes at these events and in the media at large. It is particularly noticeable that independence and anniversary celebrations of the homelands received lesser attention than South African festivals, such as the Republic and Dias Festivals, which received considerable and detailed write-ups in *Paratus*. Brown's (1966:13, 15) description, amongst others in this study, conveys the picture of an almost carnivalesque atmosphere at these events. Should one go by Brown's comment of 'whatever it is it swells the throats of most' (1966:15), it is evident that the military parade act as an agent working on the emotions of spectators, and thus served as a tool to influence society towards the prevailing ideologies of the day. Music, in all its forms and variations, formed an intrinsic part in this movement.

10 Conclusion

The preceding pages have traced, often indirectly through events, institutions and structures represented in the journal *Paratus*, the role played by music in processes of militarisation during the South African Border War. No extensive articles on music or thought on the strategic application of music was ever published in *Paratus*. The fact that the SANDF Document Centre contains just over three metres of finding aids dealing with music, out of a total of some 80 metres, is an indication of the relative importance of music to the SADF, an importance that this dissertation points to through a study of reportage in the SADF's flagship propaganda publication. Music, it can safely be said, was important to SADF military culture and to processes of militarisation. The necessity to acknowledge the fact that music was hardly the focus of reportage, but an accessory to grander and more pertinent propaganda and information campaigns, is not unimportant for the findings of this study. In the sense that music served as an accompaniment, a soundtrack, a diversion, entertainment; or the sense that it formed part of a larger military institutional interface with civilian society through bands, choirs, concerts or events, was exactly what made it so influential in processes of militarisation in South Africa. In other words, the less conspicuous the operations of music in the sphere of insinuating military codes, values or a military ethos, the more successful it could be in articulating and projecting such an ethos, codes or values as *social* rather than military values.

Music has a very pronounced and particular capacity to evoke affect (feelings, emotions and moods). This is because of the temporality of music, its ability to engage or imitate the voice, and its ability to stimulate the senses through engagement by means of hearing (Sloboda, 2001). If music is not a trigger for past events or contexts, it may be referential in other ways, such as personal preference, or familiarity (Sloboda, 2001). The association with events is often closely tied with the audible nature thereof, as Daniel Levitin refers to a 'repertoire of our memories' (2006:161), associated with times where certain feelings were experienced and finding the cues to specific events stored in the memory. Music contains certain cues that could trigger these memories and their encoded contexts, linking events to music (2006:161-162). Although this may count in personal or individual experiences, it may also be drawn through to collective experiences, in the way that the music of Wagner, for example, continues to evoke negative emotions linked with the trauma of the Holocaust.

Driskill (2010:1) notes that both music and war are universal and that they elicit an array of emotions ranging from fear to excitement. He continues to suggest that the music of warfare bridges these two aspects (2010:1). As was shown in this dissertation, martial and patriotic music played by military bands can be divided into the categories of concerts, military events and state events. The effect of martial music on a society balances with the place or priority of the military and warfare within the society. If one understands music as a culturally significant component of what is regarded as important to society, it follows that the military can tap into this cultural significance and arrange it to excite and motivate society. National anthems and state music often seem to have martial music characteristics and are obvious ways in which this can happen. National anthems, in particular, are mostly regarded as part of society and that which is signified through this medium often relates to national histories and the protection of a national culture and identity, something to be maintained and defended, aiding as unifying element and to instil patriotism (Driskill, 2010:2-3). Throughout this dissertation, the reportage collected from *Paratus* has been shown to confirm the importance of martial music and the national anthem in a highly militarised society, and music was instrumental in building up and exploiting a repertoire of memories and associations that bound the military project and civilian society together.

In the context of using music for people's emotional well-being, Van Goethem and Sloboda (2011:218, 224) noted that music, whether chosen consciously or unconsciously, has the ability to influence emotions and that it is the second most used device for affect regulation. Four levels in affect regulation are present, namely a goal (for example, to reduce work-related stress), strategy (try to distract one from the stress), tactic (to listen to music) and underlying mechanism (bringing to mind pleasant memories) (Van Goethem & Sloboda, 2011:222). The vast list of affects that can be regulated through music includes excitement, motivation, the energetic, anger, frustration, stress, fear, boredom, loneliness, nostalgia, confidence and pride. Generally, music listening is associated with regulating emotions from the negative to the positive (Van Goethem & Sloboda, 2011:214; Juslin, Liljeström, Laukka, Västfjäll & Lundqvist, 2011:176, 196). Some factors include emotion, the type of music, familiarity with the music, musical content (Van Goethem & Sloboda, 2011:216), state of mind of the listener and situation, implying that reactions to the same music can change in different situations (Juslin *et al.*, 2011:175, 177-178, 196-197). Musical emotions can be predicted to a certain extent, depending on the situation (Juslin *et al.*, 2011:198). Although *Paratus* does not expand

on how emotions can change, it is clear that music performed by these military bands played a role in regulating affect. Military marches, performed by brass instruments, and accompanied by the energetic drum rhythms, evoked feelings of excitement and pride. Military marches, as representations of military might, may also have included settings of familiar works, which may have appealed to wider audiences. Taking the example of the military march, the goal of these events would have been to sway civilian society towards support for the SADF. The strategy was to distract from the horrors of war with the tactic of music performances, invoking underlying mechanisms of excitement and pride. Music, therefore, has the ability to control societies, and through the collective experience ('we feeling') (Mies, n.d.:34), it can create cohesion, while steering people in a certain direction, and this is where brass music and popular music concerts, for example, play an important role (n.d.:34). As it also has the ability to divide (n.d.:34), it is likely that the SADF used music purposefully to exclude the (black) enemy.

At the start of this study, militarisation was defined as a process through which military ideals pervade society to the extent that boundaries between the military and civilian spheres become blurred (Enloe, 1983:9; Regan, 1994:5-6), and where civilian functions such as education, religion, entertainment and the media served as a conduits for militarisation initiatives. In this study it was shown how military bands and choirs, commercial entertainers, music broadcast over the radio operated in a broader Cold War context – on both sides of the warring parties – to infiltrate civilian spheres of living. Programmes were aimed at the local, domestic sphere to make civilians aware of the war effort and the idea of the border. The latter included outreach activities, visits of military personnel to civilian institutions and vice versa, broadcasting, the Southern Cross Fund, concerts and specifically music performances. Unlike the archaic roles played by military musicians in the field of combat (documented in Chapter Four), the role of music in warfare and military sensitization had changed in the twentieth century and, as this study shows, was very very different during the South African Border War. My research has shown that music tended to play an important role in ceremonial and public displays, doing much to convey images of the power and influence of the military.⁴⁶⁰ This is perhaps best

⁴⁶⁰ See, for example, 'Orkeste van die Weermag dra beeld na buite' ['Bands of the SADF convey image to the outside world'] (1977:14-15).

illustrated by the formation of various military unit bands as documented in Chapter Seven, and their participation in public and military events. Music also played a role in militarising South African society in the way it informed recreation. Broadcasting was extremely important in this regard, but live performances also played a role, as did the distribution of media like sound cassettes. In general military contexts, songs that evoked a military ethos included comic songs, marches, anthems, laments, romantic songs and songs about army life and parodies, as listed by Les Cleveland (1994:1-3). From song texts provided by Du Toit and Claassen (2015), Dean Wingrin (2012) and Dick Lord (2008) in their work on 1 Parachute Battalion and the South African Air Force, it is clear that the themes of such music were not unique to the South African Border War, but are similar to themes portrayed through music in other conflicts.⁴⁶¹

Militarisation through music often functioned by placing soldiers in musical contexts during public military and civilian events, including military open days, parents' days, military tattoos, festivals and shows. Some of these events served the dual purpose of building troop morale while involving civilian society. Music played a role in justifying the war effort by infusing it with an aura of heroism, optimism, unity in expression and by providing clear aesthetic contrasts to notions of 'Eastern' (pro-Soviet) or African sounds. These processes – and specifically also musical processes – commenced from a young age (pre-school), through the various school-level programmes of cadets and youth preparedness that were part of the education syllabus. As has become abundantly clear in this research, the institution of school cadets, in particular, helped to prepare future conscripts. *Paratus* contains much coverage of cadet competitions, which included music, and the place of cadets in traditional white schools was clearly an important one.

The use of music was often intertwined with other forms of politics, like gender and sexuality. Drum majorettes formed part of the cadet culture and of public events featuring the military, suggesting a particular role for women as objects of sexual desire and, at the same time, inculcated into military gestures of movement.⁴⁶² Much effort was made to elevate the position

⁴⁶¹ See, for example, Lord (2008:222, 237-238, 262-263) for information about songs from the Second World War.

⁴⁶² See the examples of De Smidt and Hollander (1985a:4-5) and Botes (1986c:24-25).

of soldiers in South African society, with propaganda suggesting the aspirational aspects of marrying a soldier, tending to soldiers, supporting them or becoming soldiers. Music, often in the form of radio broadcasts or specific songs dedicated to the trials and tribulations of being a soldier, was important in assisting with creating these constructs. Different kinds of music was used in this regard: patriotic music to inculcate a sense of pride, military music to inspire marches and determination, Western art music to convey an elevated image of an elite ‘class’, and general popular music suiting the tastes of soldiers and civilians alike. The latter kind of music served as reminder of ‘home’ and as a connection to ‘home’ and to what was listened to ‘at home’, which created a sense of familiarity in an unknown, alien environment. Music almost certainly also played a role in fashioning and maintaining memories and associations for soldiers who had rejoined civilian life, with popular songs with particular associations of combat or situations on the border would allow these memories to be ‘replayed’ at home. In this way, music could effectively carry military memories into the civilian sphere. Ramsden (2009:118, 171, 283) and Korff (2009) write how music could become closely identified with specific military situations, and how those situations could be recalled by the music in different contexts. But this function of music was also affirmed by my interviewees and respondents to questionnaires.⁴⁶³ Paul Morris (2017) recalled associations of music with parties whilst on pass,⁴⁶⁴ with relationships and with situations such as an incident whilst on patrol in Ovamboland when he noticed a young boy tapping a rhythm on a *Coca-Cola* can.⁴⁶⁵ Questionnaire respondents indicated a similar role for music in post-war memorable situations

⁴⁶³ Music associated with the Army in general included ‘40 Days’, ‘Troepie doepie’ and ‘Daar’s ‘n man op die grens’ (SADF Soldier 4, 2016). Music associated with training included ‘Right’ and ‘The Weight’ (SADF Soldier 1, 2016), ‘Brothers in arms’ (Harvey, 2016) and ‘40 Days’ (SADF Soldier 4, 2016).

⁴⁶⁴ Further music associated with weekend pass included ‘40 Days’ (SADF Soldier 4, 2016), ‘Bad girls’ by Donna Summer, ‘Sultans of swing’ by Dire Straits (SADF Soldier 5, 2016) and Finch and Henson songs (SADF Soldier 6, 2016).

⁴⁶⁵ Music associated with the border included ‘The wall’ by Pink Floyd (protest), ‘The Weight’ (SADF Soldier 1, 2016), music by Jennifer Rush, Modern Talking and Queen (SADF Soldier 2, 2016), *Dear Prudence* (passivism), *Help* and ‘Sgt Pepper’s lonely hearts club band’ (De Ruig, 2016), ‘Midnight special’ (Hare, 2016), ‘Wish you were here’, ‘You can go your own way’ (Harvey, 2016), ‘40 Days’, ‘Troepie doepie’, ‘Daar’s ‘n man op die grens’ (SADF Soldier 4, 2016), ‘Rock lobster’ by the B52s (SADF Soldier 5, 2016), ‘A land down under’ (protest rock), Van Halen (Thorpe, 2016), ‘Ride my see-saw’ and ‘Simple Simon says’ (Pretorius, 2016). Specific music related to combat included ‘You can go your own way’ (Harvey, 2016), ‘A land down under’ and music by Van Halen (Thorpe, 2016).

through its use in films (SADF Soldier 1, 2016), in pubs (SADF Soldier 2, 2016; SADF Soldier 6, 2016), concerts by celebrities (SADF Soldier 6, 2016), and personal informal performances (De Ruig, 2016).⁴⁶⁶ The image of the border as a romantic, adventurous or mysterious place, was enhanced by music, and specifically through radio musical request programmes. The border also manifested musically in memorial and commemoration services for those who lost their lives in combat.

Like gender and sexuality, music was also intertwined with race in the militarisation of South African society during the Border War.⁴⁶⁷ Propaganda in *Paratus* often emphasized how persons of colour supported conscription (Like father, like son, 1973:46; Maketha, 1980:51; Indians volunteer for border duty, 1985:22; Twenty happy faces, 1985:51; Wambovrue staan bankvas agter die Veiligheidsmagte, 1981:10-11). Articles such as ‘The Communists are not only the White man’s problem’ (1978:8-9)⁴⁶⁸ and columns featuring articles by Mbizelwa David Masango, ‘Son of Shaka’ and Isaac Metsing, titled, ‘The black man’s view’, in a number of issues of *Paratus* about perceived communist dangers created the perception that black citizens agreed with the actions of the government and SADF, even in the context of the oppression they suffered.⁴⁶⁹ Voluntary service for black people was therefore encouraged as the duty of responsible citizens to defend the country against the enemy.⁴⁷⁰ These articles are typical examples of how the militarisation effort of the SADF extended to people of colour. There are also various articles portraying the SADF as a multi-racial institute where different

⁴⁶⁶ De Ruig (2016) recalled playing music on djembes and guitars on the border, while Harvey (2016) listened to a friend singing the Pink Floyd song, ‘Wish you were here’, accompanied by guitar, whilst in Angola. (Thorpe, 2016) recalled listening to Van Halen whilst flying out by helicopter (Puma) to the Drop Zone (DZ), or ‘getting stoned in Hotel bunker (eenhana) listening to Procal Harem, or remembering concerts by artists, such as Sonja Herold in Potchefstroom in 1978, or songs around the fire (SADF Soldier 6, 2016). Music associated with camps included *The wall* by Pink Floyd, ‘Right’ and ‘The Weight’ (SADF Soldier 1, 2016), ‘Dear Prudence’, ‘Help’ and ‘Sgt Pepper’s lonely hearts club band’ (De Ruig, 2016), ‘Rasputin’ (Hare, 2016), ‘40 Days’, ‘Troepie doepie’, ‘Daar’s ‘n man op die grens’ (SADF Soldier 4, 2016), Sonja Herold and Abba songs (SADF Soldier 6, 2016) and ‘Help’ by Deep Purple (Pretorius, 2016).

⁴⁶⁷ See Watkins (2003:315-317, 323-326) for the stereotyping of black people in the USA.

⁴⁶⁸ See also ‘Auxiliary Services of the SADF’ (1978:34-35).

⁴⁶⁹ See Masango (1979a-g), Son of Shaka (1979, 1980) and Metsing (1980). See also ‘202 Bataljon vier elfde verjaardag: “Mag van die Kavango” hou die terroriste in toom’ [‘202 Battalion celebrates eleventh birthday: “Force of the Kavango” keeps terrorists at bay’] (1987:42-43).

⁴⁷⁰ See, for example, Kleyn (1989a:4; 1988b:16-17) and ‘Venda Weermag vyf jaar oud: Voorste sanger prys weermag in lied’ (1987:34).

races fought a common enemy alongside each other. Examples included a photograph (Figure 38) with a white and black soldier sitting alongside each other (This is how 21 (Black) Battalion prepared for border duty, 1978:4) and the title, ‘Skouer aan skouer dien hulle die SAW’ [‘Shoulder to shoulder they serve the SADF’] (Kleyn, 1989b:30-31). From a musical perspective, attempts to create a multi-racial image of the SADF included photographs of mixed bands (see, for example, the SWA Permanent Force Pop Band - Figure 59, 2 SAI Battalion choir evening - Figure 70, Mass bands – Figure 76, and participation in the Durban Tattoo – Figure 78) and reportage of combined racial performances, as found in the example of the Kavango Choir and Drakensberg Boys Choir and Kavango Choir (Steyn, 1987a:35), or mixed performances by the South African Army Church Choir and Concert Group and the The Air Force Gymnasium Choir (Koor se puik prestasie, 1989:26), or at the SADF’s 75th anniversary concert, ‘Winners’ concert held at the Nico Malan Opera House in Cape Town representing all races (Cohen, 1987a:49). These specific examples indicate that the SADF used music as propaganda tool to convey their image as a multi-racial institute, although the different military units and their bands, as discussed in Chapter Seven, were still created along racial lines to support apartheid ideology. In an intriguing example of what might be described as a form of military tourism, civilian visits were encouraged to visit facilities constructed for units that were eventually to become part of the homeland armies. 121 Battalion’s Engweni, ‘Place of the leopard’ (Ash, 1986a:10-12) and 113 Battalion’s facilities on the banks of the Letaba River, described as a place where ‘peace prospers where nature takes its course’ [‘Die vrede gedy waar natuur sy gang gaan’] (Kleyn, 1989a:4), illustrate a politics of naming that allowed military action to appeal to romanticized (white) constructions of black otherness. Visits to Omega ‘Bushman’ base and performances by the 202 Battalion Kavango choir, for example, received considerable attention in *Paratus*.⁴⁷¹ Young persons of colour were militarised by means of youth camps, as illustrated by the examples of the Ekongoro Youth Movement camps for black school learners in the Kavango district (Duisende kinders harte verbly, 1979:34-35; Wham wham, 1982:24) and the instance of a youth camp for coloured school learners at

⁴⁷¹ See, for example, ‘Mediavroue se kosbare avontuur ‘in die bos’’ (1981:40-41), Muller (1981:31) and ‘Tannie Ristie kom haar belofte na’ (1981:87).

Eersterust (SAW help en leer jeugleiers in natuur, 1981:24). Already at these ages, learners were made aware of the communist threat and potential responses to this threat. This may have created prospects for potential participation in the SADF. An emphasis on indigenous culture was also instrumental in the militarisation of people of colour. This was in line with apartheid ideology of separate development, where it was expected that groups would develop within their own cultures. The emphasis on the importance of preserving these specific cultures through events such as traditional days and performances thus served as an extension of apartheid ideology.⁴⁷²

In Chapter Two, several authors were presented who discussed the use of music in war. These included Pieslak (2009), Kartomi (2010), Cleveland (1994), Jones (2006) and Watkins (2003). To some extent, the material discovered in *Paratus* and further contextual information gleaned from interviews and questionnaires speak to the research of these authors. Prominent themes from the literature in terms of musical uses in militarisation included propaganda, indoctrination and the use of music in entertainment and recreation. My research indicates that, as cultural and leisure activity, music served as entertainment and morale builder, encouraging the preservation of a specific ‘culture’ that defined the societies represented by these military groups. Subtle propaganda also took place through the maintenance of traditions based on songs associated with war traditions.⁴⁷³

Reportage in *Commando* and *Paratus* focussed on the importance of leisure activities, which included music. The April 1974 issue of *Paratus*, for example, reported in detail on the importance of leisure activities, and of those listed, music entailed performances by professional and amateur groups, the staging of operas and operettas, singing, choir

⁴⁷² See, for example, ‘Duisende kindharte verbly’ (1979:34-35), Mills (1989a:31), ‘Drums beat as Zulu soldiers perform’ (1983:58), Wood (1988:29), Kennedy (1989c:35) and Ford (1989b:18).

⁴⁷³ Morris (2017) referred to earlier songs such as ‘Pack up your troubles’ (‘from my Dad’s generation’), to World War II films and theme music such as the ‘Dambuster’s march’, ‘The Battle of Britain’, ‘Colonel Bogey’s march’ and *Bridge over the River Kwai*, to war film culture of the 1970s and 1980s (‘because war-movies were a big part of, you know, the ‘70s and ‘80’s’) and to South African war films such as *Boetie gaan border toe* and SABC propaganda programmes. The presence of music in both World Wars was also recognised in *Paratus* for the SADF’s 70th anniversary celebration (SAW 1912-1982: Musiek was deel van die verjaardagspyskaart, 1982:51). See also ‘Duitse musiek goed vir Lugmag-moreel’ [‘German music good for Air Force morale’] (1983), Smit (1985:15) and Hattingh (1989c:17) about song book compilations.

performances, variety concerts and ‘volkspele’ [‘folk dancing’] (Louw, 1974:10). To enhance the importance of leisure activities in the SADF, the April 1974 issue of *Paratus* featured an article on leisure activities for the soldier with accompanying photographs in various settings (Fasiliteite vir vryetydsbesteding, 1974:30-51), such as the Navy (1974:30), on board of a submarine (1974:31) and on the border (1974:38).

Leisure activities not only served the purpose of relaxation, but also inculcated a positive attitude towards National Service (Lötter, 1976b:23; Hierdie koor doen veel meer, 1981:81). Music included general performances by civilian and SADF groups and individuals in the country and on the border, around the camp fire after a day’s activities (Esprit de Corps echoed at Herold’s Bay, 1982:86), at bars or hotels (De Waal, 1985:66-67), casually within camps (Van der Merwe, 2017), staged concerts, background music,⁴⁷⁴ and it was also continually consumed via broadcasting, radio and cassettes.⁴⁷⁵ Distinction can be drawn between music for personal consumption, music at official events and music concerts arranged for conscripts by the SADF. As illustrated by the examples of a Gospel concert and a performance by Pierre de Charmoy (Morris, 2017), and comments regarding reactions towards officers of higher rank during training by Van der Merwe (2017), it is evident that the morale building aspect was unsuccessful (2017) (Chapters Seven and Eight). This is one example of where different

⁴⁷⁴ This included sports events (Gimnastrade ’n ware skouspel, 1984:42) and less formal functions (Sjampanje-afsluiting op ’n vonkelnoot, 1984:53).

⁴⁷⁵ Music generally included Top 20, Elvis Presley, the Bee Gees, the Beach Boys, Carike Keuzenkamp and Sonja Herholdt (Van der Merwe, 2017), Dire Straits’ album, *Brothers in Arms*, the Police, jazz, Jonathan Butler, Sadao Watanabe, David Sanborn, Bob James and jazz (Morris, 2017). Morris (2017) mostly listened to Radio 5 as ‘radio station of choice’ and any popular music and music on the charts that was broadcast. Feedback from the questionnaire respondents indicated access to music via the following in priority order: sound cassette tapes and radio (includes car radio in military truck) equally, Walkman, visiting artists, television and field visits by civilian musical performers equally, singing and religious services equally, and record player, playing an instrument, other music publications and military ceremonies equally. The types of music the questionnaire respondents had access to included in priority order: popular songs (including covers of popular songs) and military music equally (with these two types lower down the scale), while specifications of genres included rock, folk, alternative and punk music. The priority order of what soldiers listened to mostly reflects issues of access, again with popular songs at the top of the list. The dislikes of questionnaire respondents were as follows (priority order): military music and covers of popular songs equally, songs from military song books, protest songs and classical music equally and popular songs.

reactions can be drawn by the same music in different situations and where emotions and conduct cannot be completely predicted.

Music also served as vehicle to articulate feelings and emotions. A song like Leon Schuster's 'Ag man, dis lekker in die Army', was clearly aimed at channeling positive emotions (Van der Merwe, 2017) and the music of Rodriguez could be interpreted as functioning as a kind of palliative for harmless release of protest expressing dissatisfaction with soldiers' circumstances and the system (Morris, 2017). The place music seemed to have was 'everything' (SADF Soldier 1, 2016), while it also assisted to relate to one's situation (SADF Soldier 4, 2016), or helped to create a sense of patriotism (SADF Soldier 4, 2016) and nostalgia (SADF Soldier 6, 2016), provided relief from boredom (SADF Soldier 5, 2016), served merely for enjoyment and relaxation (Pretorius, 2016; SADF Soldiers 6 and 7, 2016), or served as escapist tool and as a means to reconnect with what was regarded as normal (Thorpe, 2016). One *Paratus* entry alleges that German music (sponsored by cigarette company Gunston) was supposed to have improved the morale of SADF members in the Operational Area in 1983 (Duitse musiek goed vir Lugmag-moreel, 1983:32).

The research has not revealed many instances of where music played a role during combat, and in a sense this function of music is also somewhat incidental (although not entirely irrelevant) to militarisation *per se*. Experiences of music in combat are documented in Korff's (2009:110) observation of Lieutenant Frans Conradie, who played music at full volume when making contact with the enemy, as well as in the recollection of actual combat by Paul Morris (2017), that confirms that their party could tune into Radio 5 in their Ratel (military vehicle). One could imagine, with these two examples, how music became a soundtrack to war, and how the same music listened to at home by decommissioned soldiers could evoke the sphere of war in civilian life, and war as they were moving through the bush with the music playing. During combat, the sonic focus would change from the music towards the sounds of machinery and shooting, while music became the background. Only in the spaces between battles did soldiers become aware again of music and the radio: a pop song or reports of a surfing competition

from a Durban beach while they were fighting a war in Angola.⁴⁷⁶ Here, radio – and the music broadcast on radio – played a role in offering a geographical and temporal connection between ‘home’ and the war front. At the same time, radio also reminded the soldiers of ‘normality’ in South Africa and people continuing with their daily affairs, oblivious to the events on the border.

After combat, music assisted soldiers in re-adjusting to reality (SADF Soldier 1, 2016; Thorpe, 2016), to relax and to calm them down (Thorpe, 2016), providing a sense of nostalgia (SADF Soldier 1, 2016; Thorpe, 2016). A performance of ‘Onse Vader’ [‘Our Father’] also had a healing effect on the performers and audience alike during a concert presented by the Canaries and where there was evidence of trauma, loss and memories of gruesome events (Van der Merwe, 2017).⁴⁷⁷

After 1994 some SADF veterans experienced a sense of betrayal by the National Party government, as they felt that they had put their lives at risk for a government that prioritised its own interests (Bakkes, 2008:277-279);⁴⁷⁸ some indicated a resentment towards conscription at the time, whilst being left with little choice, facing the possibility of imprisonment (Morris, 2017), but others regarded conscription as part of what had to be done to fight communism (Van der Merwe, 2017). Morris (2017) recalled his time in Angola and his anger and disappointment at the government’s denial of their presence in Angola. The transition after the border war for questionnaire respondents drew comments ranging from positive reactions to disappointment (Pretorius, 2016; SADF Soldier 6, 2016), while others found it difficult to adapt to civilian life after a long time in the bush (SADF Soldier 5, 2016; Thorpe, 2016), or after

⁴⁷⁶ ‘[...] AK47s are shooting speculative shots and they’re going, you can hear them cracking overhead and then you hear the machine gun fire start up and here’s like a zipper going, uhm, crack-crack-crack-crack-crack overhead and then... And then gradually the mortars and artillery and stuff would start finding range and then all hell would break loose [...]. Not really listening to the music anymore, because I’m, I’m fighting, I’m shooting back. I’m terrified. I’m holding my head in my hands, ‘cause something’s exploding next to me’ (Morris, 2017).

⁴⁷⁷ SWAPO combatants Jessy Nombanza (2017) and Nkrumah Mushelenga (2017) corroborate the role played by music as a way of comforting soldiers who had witnessed gruesome events.

⁴⁷⁸ Karen Batley (2007:28) emphasizes a general feeling of disillusionment felt by these soldiers when, ironically, the very same South African government that initiated conscription gave SWAPO R5 million towards the Namibian independence celebrations.

recovering from physical wounds (Thorpe, 2016), or they just ‘existed quietly’ (SADF Soldier 4, 2016), indicating suppressed anger and pain. After their service, conscripts received little or hardly any debriefing or treatment for post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Baines, 2008:12).

Baines (2008:14-15) maintains that former freedom movement cadres also regard themselves as betrayed by the current state, whilst divisions continue between ex-APLA and ex-MK members as well as former exiles and those who stayed at home (Baines, 2008:15; Bopela & Luthuli, 2005). In a sense, then, the aftermath of the militarised societies engaged in the South African Border War is in many instances one of loss and disillusionment on all sides. It would be reasonable to assume, in this unresolved and enduring suffering and trauma that the music that played a role in the militarisation of society, would continue. The South African Border War led to loss, pain, trauma, imprisonment and death. This research shows that music was there all along: boosting morale, entertaining, indoctrinating, comforting, structuring and promising something like a ‘normal’ life beyond war.

11 References

- 17 Gun salute for Mr Basie van Rensburg. 1970. *Paratus*, 21(12), December:26-29.
- 21 Bataljon se orkes laat jou voete jeuk! 1980. *Paratus*, 31(7), July:8.
- 21 Bataljon. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(6), June:8-9.
- 21 Battalion's scholar soldiers. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(11), November:34.
- 101 Taakmag hou medaljeparade. 1977. *Paratus*, 28(8), August:16-17.
- 111 Battalion parents' day. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(1), January:40.
- 202 Bataljon vier elfde verjaardag: 'Mag van die Kavango' hou die terroriste in toom. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(2), February:42-43.
- 1963 beeld Beeld van Afrika: Moord in die naam van vrede. 1964. *Die Huisgenoot*:10-15, 3 January.
- 1988 Dias Festival, Mossel Bay (3) [Video file]. 2019. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U-MONO9J43o> [2020, July 29].
- 1988 Dias Festival, Mossel Bay (7) [Video file]. 2019. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FjNHzpWJ0zQ> [2020, July 29].
- Aarons, J.N. 1984. In defence of South Africa. *Paratus*, 35(5), May:34-38.
- Aarons, J.N. 1985a. A good friend of country's citizens. *Paratus*, 36(1), January:36-38.
- Aarons, J.N. 1985b. BDF five years old. *Paratus*, 36(1), January:34-35.
- Aarons, J.N. & Le Chat, M.W. 1984. Inauguration of the first Executive State President: Guns boom while thousands cheer. *Paratus*, 35(10), October:4-6.
- A city's top honour to a military unit. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(11), November:6.
- Adieu! Excited volunteers head for George. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(2), February:66.

- A dinner to bid them farewell. 1973. *Paratus*, 24(7), July:46.
- AFB Waterkloof marches through Verwoerdburg. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(8), August:20.
- African students boycott festival. 1971. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, 5(7), July:22.
- A friendly welcome in PE. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(4), April:7.
- Agreement with NPU signed. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(4), April:43.
- Al Debbo entertains at tea party. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(11), November:60.
- Al en Joanna vermaak Dienspligtiges. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(5), May:70.
- Alexander, M. 2000. The Militarisation of South African White Society, 1948-1990. *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* [Online], 30(2):267-289, doi: <https://doi.org/10.5787/30-2-178> [2020, July 29].
- Alexandra, A. 1993. Militarism. *Social Theory and Practice*, 19(2):205-223, Summer.
- Amanda het groot planne met troepe. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(12), December:57.
- Ames, R.T. & Rosemont, H. 1999. *The analects of Confucius: A philosophical translation*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- A nation on the march*. 1987. Mellville, South Africa: Hans Strydom.
- ANC news broadcasts. 1968. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, 2(3), March:8.
- Andresen, L. 2000. *Battle notes: Music of the Vietnam War*. Superior, WI: Savage Press.
- Andreski, S. 1968. *Military organisation and society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Anees, M.A. 2006. Salvation and suicide: What does Islamic theology say? *Dialog: A Journal of Theology*, 45(3):275-279, Fall.

- An extra for *Paratus*. 1977. *Supplement to Paratus*, 28(9), September:iii.
- Anneli sing vir bejaardes. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(11), November:71.
- An [sic] unique honour for the Queens College Cadets. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(2), February:35.
- AP Archive. 2015a. *Independence for Botswana* [Video file]. Available:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qe3wYrB4kDo> [2020, July 29].
- AP Archive. 2015b. *The opening of the South African Parliament* [Video file]. Available:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xwv3vYfU8Ng> [2020, July 29].
- Armon, J., Hendrickson, D., & Vines, A. (eds.). 1998. The Nkomati Talks: Agreement on non-aggression and good neighbourliness between the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Government of the Republic of South Africa. *Accord: An International Review of Peace Initiatives* [Online], 3:35-37. Available:
<http://www.c-r.org/sites/default/files/Accord%203%20-%20webversion.pdf> [2020, July 29].
- Art against conscription: Jaantjie kom huis toe (or how to become a Cape Coloured Corpse). 1985. *Rixaka: Cultural Journal of the African National Congress*, 1:23.
- Ash, P.K. 1986a. 121 Battalion: Spirit of the Zulu nation marches on. *Paratus*, 37(12), December:10-13.
- Ash, P.K. 1986b. Durban Tattoo a blaze of colour. *Paratus*, 37(8), August:40-41.
- Ash, P.K. 1987. Indian war veterans at Naval Base Durban. *Paratus*, 38(1), January:49.
- At SAS Jalsena: Indians celebrate 10 yrs in SAN. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(10), October:30-31.
- Auxiliary Services of the SADF. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(7), July:34-35.
- Badcock, P. 1981. *Images of war*. Durban: Graham Publishing.
- Bahro, R. 1982. *Socialism and survival*. London: Heretic Books.

- Baines, G. 2003. South Africa's Vietnam? *Literary History and Cultural Memory of the Border War*. *South African Historical Journal*, 49:172–92.
- Baines, G. 2008. Introduction: Challenging the boundaries, breaking the silences, in G. Baines & P. Vale (eds.). *Beyond the border war: New perspectives on Southern Africa's late-Cold War conflicts*. Pretoria: University of South Africa. 1-21.
- Baines, G. 2010. Accessing Information in South Africa's Department of Defence Archives, in C. Saunders (ed.). *Documenting liberation struggles in Southern Africa: Select papers from the Nordic Africa Documentation Project workshop, 26–27 November 2009, Pretoria, South Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet [Online]. 87-94. Available: <http://namibia.leadr.msu.edu/items/show/95> [2020, July 29].
- Baines, G. 2012. Vietnam analogies and metaphors: The cultural codification of South Africa's Border War. *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies* [Electronic], 13(1-2):73-90, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17533171.2011.642591> [2020, July 29].
- Bakkes, C. 2008. *Boskroniek (April – Junie 1977): Dagverhaal van 'n grenssoldaat*. [Pretoria: C.M. Bakkes].
- Balić, J. 2015. Baron Franz von der Trenck and his Pandours: Merciless marauders or courageous combatants? Unpublished master's thesis. Budapest: Central European University [Online]. Available: www.etd.ceu.edu/2015/balic_juraj.pdf [2020, July 29].
- Bands return to Klapperkop. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(11), November:73.
- Bantjés, H. 1990. Die vermaaklikheidsgroepe van die Unie-verdedigingsmag gedurende die Tweede Wêreldoorlog: 'n Historiese ontleding. Unpublished master's thesis. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Basson, A.J. 1981. *Kommunisme en opvoeding*. Durban: Butterworth.
- Batley, K. (ed.). 2007. *A secret burden: The border war: Memories of the war by South African soldiers who fought in it*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

- BBK op toer. 1972. *Paratus*, 23(11), November:40-41.
- BDF celebrates second birthday. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(2), February:56.
- Begeesterde vroue vind rygeleenthede vir NDPs. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(7), July:20-21.
- Behr, A.M. 1986. Pierre de Charmoy: Hit songs inspired by National Service. *Paratus*, 37(1), January:69.
- Beinart, W. 1994. *Twentieth-century South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Belfast wins drill and band sections. 1971. *Paratus*, 22(11), November:40-41, 43.
- Benadé, L. 1985. Jeugjaar = Youth year 85: Verhoudinge tussen jeug, SAW versterk. *Paratus*, 36(10):28-29.
- Bennett, C. 2011. *South African Naval events day-by-day, 1488 to 2009*. Simon's Town: Naval Heritage Trust.
- Besoekersdag. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(4), April:49.
- Bishops' cadets point the way to National Service. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(4), April:44-45.
- Black Sash. 2017. *History of the Black Sash, 1955-2014* [Online]. Available: <http://www.blacksash.org.za/index.php/our-legacy/history-of-the-black-sash> [2020, July 29].
- Blake, C. 2009. *Troepie: Van blougat tot bosoupa*. Cape Town: Zebra Press.
- Blignaut, J. & Botha, M. 1992. *Movies, moguls, mavericks: South African cinema 1979-1991*. Cape Town: Showdata.
- Blom, S. 1986. 'Ons is trots op haar'. *Paratus*, 37(12), December:17.
- Blom, S. 1987a. Iets om oor te sing! *Paratus*, 38(11), November:20.
- Blom, S. 1987b. Innes en Franna: 'Ek weet ek kan'. *Paratus*, 38(10), October:36-37.
- Blom, S. 1987c. Spoggerig en uniek! *Paratus*, 38(1), January:34-37.

- Boetie, hy gaan border toe. 1985. *Rixaka: Cultural Journal of the African National Congress*, 1:23.
- Book and record morale boosters. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(1), January:46.
- Boonzaier, W.A. 1963. Aandag! Ons weermag is wakker. *Die Huisgenoot*:5, 11 October.
- Bopela, T. & Luthuli, D. 2005. *Umkhonto we Sizwe*. Alberton: Galago.
- Bophuthatswana hoor: 'Weermag wil beskerm'. 1975. *Paratus*, 26(4), April:32.
- Bophuthatswana's National Guard. 1977. *Paratus*, 28(6), June:18.
- Border song's new verse rides the crest of the wave. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(2), February:49.
- Botes, J. 1986a. Jollie-Jollie! Se mooi meisies besoek basis. *Paratus*, 37(11), November:24.
- Botes, J. 1986b. Marcél Cronje van Oranje Rendezvous: Sy lê ons troepies naby aan die hart. *Paratus*, 37(8), August:49.
- Botes, J. 1986c. Sishen-kadette gaan toekoms tegemoet. *Paratus*, 37(10), October:24-25.
- Botes, M. 1989. Dankie, Soldaat! *Paratus*, 40(12), December:34.
- Bothma, C. 2009. *Los af: 'n Terugblik op nasionale diensplig, deur die oë van 'n dienspligtige*. Hermanus: Hemel & See Boeke.
- Bourke, J. 1999. *An intimate history of killing*. London: Granta Books.
- Bridgland, F. 1986. *Jonas Savimbi: A key to Africa*. Sevenoaks: Coronet.
- Briefs. 1986. *Rixaka: Cultural Journal of the African National Congress*, 3:40-41.
- Brigade onthou sy makkers. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(6), June:55.
- Broers wil oorsee sing. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(6), June:63.
- Brooks, A.J. 2007. *The border*. Johannesburg: 30° South Publishers.
- Brown, N. 1966. With the crowd at the big parade. *Commando*, 17(8), August:13, 15.

- Bruisende geesdrif by die SALV Kol. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(3), March:70-71.
- Burger grootste Afrikaanse dagblad in SA. 1980. *Die Burger*, 2 February:3.
- Burger, J.C.W. 1986. Briewe: 'Frontiers' dankbaar. *Paratus*, 37(9), September:57.
- Burke, E.P. & Economides, C. 1975. Transkei Army gets volunteers cracking. *Paratus*, 26(9), September:8-9.
- Cadet Detachment 794 of Christian Brothers' College. 1972. *Paratus*, 23(4), April:36-37, 58.
- Cadets impress public. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(8), August:6.
- Cadets receive Colour from Gen Geldenhuys. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(11), November:4.
- Call and Ride Safe scheme celebrates 2nd anniversary. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(1), January:55.
- Callister, G. 2007. Compliance, compulsion and contest: Aspects of military conscription in South Africa, 1952-1992. Unpublished master's thesis. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University. [Online]. Available: <http://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/2451> [2020, July 29].
- Campbell, D. 2001 *The Mozart effect: Tapping the power of music to heal the body, strengthen the mind, and unlock the creative spirit*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Cape Corps honoured in Simon's Town. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(4), April:41.
- Carike Keuzenkamp visits recovery wing. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(7), July:18.
- Carney, Daniel. 1978. The wild geese. *Paratus*, 29(6), June:26-27.
- Carton, B., Laband, J. & Sithole, J. (eds.). 2008. *Zulu identities: Being Zulu, past and present*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Cawthra, G. 1986. *Brutal force: The apartheid war machine*. London: International Defence & Aid Fund for Southern Africa.
- Cherry, J. 2011. *Umkhonto we Sizwe*. Johannesburg: Jacana.

- Children in the front line. 1986. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, 20(4), April:16-17.
- Choir began to recognise talent. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(10), October:4.
- Church parade. 1971. *Paratus*, 22(8), August:45.
- Ciskei skaar hom nie by lafaards. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(1), January:8.
- Clapham, E.W. 1969. Military Tattoo a public drawcard. *Commando*, 20(10), October:44.
- Cleveland, L. 1994. *Dark laughter: War in song and popular culture*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.
- Cloete, B. 2009. *Pionne*. Hermanus: Hemel & See Boeke.
- Coates, A.J. 1997. *The ethics of war*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Cock, J. 1989a. Introduction, in J. Cock & L. Nathan (eds.). *War and society: The militarisation of South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip. 1-13.
- Cock, J. 1989b. Manpower and militarisation: Women and the SADF, in J. Cock & L. Nathan (eds.). *War and society: The militarisation of South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip. 51-66.
- Coetzee, F. 1985. *Vir onskuldiges*. Alkantrant [Pretoria]: Hermit Uitgewers.
- Coetzee, P. 1975. What the SADF is doing in the Transkei. *Paratus*, 26(7), July:2-3.
- Cohen, S.B. 1987a. A unique symphonic combination. *Paratus*, 38(8), August:48-49.
- Cohen, S.B. 1987b. Dare-devils, dogs and massed bands celebrate in Cape. *Paratus*, 38(4), April:4.
- Cohen, S.B. 1987c. Grand display by SADF at opening of Parliament. 1985. *Paratus*, 38(3), March:32-33.

- Cohen, S.B. 1987d. Hospital choir wows them during Cape Peninsula tour. *Paratus*, 38(3), March:44.
- Cohen, S.B. 1987e. Who could ask for anything more? *Paratus*, 38(7), July:56-57.
- Coloured Corps beat retreat at Cape Show. 1968. *Commando*, 19(5), May:37.
- Coloured kaleidoscope. 1976. *Paratus*, 27(11), November:30.
- Community project for coloureds. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(2), February:10-11.
- Concert proves that the SAAF loves its troopies. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(5), May:10.
- Confrontation! The battle lines are drawn up! 1967. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, 1(11), November:1-3.
- Conscription: SABC personalities speak out on why every South African should serve his country. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(9), September:46-47.
- Conway, D. 2008. 'Somewhere on the Border – of credibility': The cultural construction and contestation of 'the Border' in white South African society, in G. Baines & P. Vale (eds.). *Beyond the border war: New perspectives on Southern Africa's late-Cold War conflicts*. Pretoria: University of South Africa. 75-93.
- Cook, D. 2005. *Understanding jihad*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cooper, C. 1989. The militarisation of the Bantustans: Control and contradictions, in J. Cock & L. Nathan (eds.). *War and society: The militarisation of South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip. 174-187.
- COSAWR: A puppet of the true enemies of all the peoples of the RSA. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(4), April:35.
- Councillors visit SA Cape Corps. 1973. *Byvoegsel tot Paratus*, 24(12), December:iii
- Craig, D. 2003. The viewer as conscript: Dynamic struggles for ideological control of the South African Border War film, 1971-88. Unpublished master's thesis. Cape Town:

- University of Cape Town [Online]. Available:
<https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/10300> [2020, July 29].
- Craig, D. 2007. Screening the Border War, 1971–88. *Kleio: A Journal of Historical Studies in Africa*, 36(1):28-46.
- Craig, D. 2008. ‘Total justification’: Ideological manipulation and South Africa’s Border War, in G. Baines & P. Vale (eds.). *Beyond the border war: New perspectives on Southern Africa’s late-Cold War conflicts*. Pretoria: University of South Africa. 56-74.
- Cream of Cape Province’s cadets compete. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(2), February:64-65.
- Cronjé, D.C. 1985. ‘Word deel van die span!’ *Paratus*, 36(5), May:10-11.
- Cronjé, D.C. 1986a. 1 SAKK Opleidingseenheid ontvang Vryheid van Bellville. *Paratus*, 37(10), October:28-29.
- Cronjé, D.C. 1986b. Kavango-Koor besoek Kaapstad. *Paratus*, 37(11), November:30-31.
- Cronjé, D.C. 1986c. NDP wys sy slag in toneelwêreld. *Paratus*, 37(1), January:60-61.
- Cronjé, D.C. & Cohen, G.D. 1986. Army shares in rag festivities. *Paratus*, 37(4), April:12-13.
- Cronjé, D.C. & Cohen, G.D. 1986. Gulde geleentheid om brûe tussen mense te bou. *Paratus*, 37(6), June:30-31, 55-56.
- Cros, Bernard. [n.d.]. *Why South Africa’s television is only twenty years old: Debating civilisation, 1958-1969* [Online]. Available: <https://oracle-reunion.pagesperso-orange.fr/documents/217.html> [2020, July 29].
- C SADF talks to his people: Parades not meaningless sideshows. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(11), November:2.
- Culture and revolution. 1980. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, 14(6), June:17-23.

- Cupido, J.S.C. 2013. The history of the Cape Corps in brief. End Conscription Campaign Collection, AG1977. Wits Historical Papers Research Archive, Johannesburg [Online]. Available: http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdf/AG1977/AG1977-A5-30-001-jpeg.pdf [2020, July 29].
- Curnick, H.R. 1979. The SA Navy League and its Naval Cadet Corps. *Paratus*, 30(7), July:22-23.
- Dadoo, Y. 2010. Suicide bombers or martyrdom operatives: Their status among Muslim thinkers, jurists and activists. *Religion & Theology*, 17:104–132.
- Davenport, T.R.H. 1987. *South Africa: A modern history*. Third edition. Johannesburg: Macmillan.
- David Song Group on square. 1989. *Paratus*, 40(11), November:17.
- Davies, B.L. 1987. Her heart goes out to thousands of soldiers. *Paratus*, 38(8), August:14.
- Davies, B.L. 1988a. Army life a ‘good experience’ says singer. *Paratus*, 39(5), May:23.
- Davies, B.L. 1988b. Kopsies sê dankie met 2 000 handtekeninge. *Paratus*, 39(7), July:52.
- Davies, T.S. 1976. Seremonieel, tradisie en gebruik: Goeie gewoontes! *Paratus*, 27(2), February:21-22.
- Deacon, J. 1995. Military culture in South Africa. *African Security Review* [Electronic], 4(4):31-36, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.1995.9627803> [2020, July 29].
- De Bruyn, G. 1989. Frontier: Aan voorpunt van SAW se goeie beeld. *Paratus*, 40(6), June:36-37.
- Deftige bal in PE aangebied. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(2), February:59.
- De Jager, H. 1987. SADF crosses the language barrier. *Paratus*, 38(10), October:12-13, 33.
- De Jager, H. & Botha, M. 1988. Freedom of entry for 4 SADF units. *Paratus*, 39(7), July:12-13.

- De Jager, L. 2008. *Grensoorlog* [DVD]. Vol. 2. Episode 14-26. Johannesburg: KykNet.
- De Jongh, M.S. 2011. 'Ride Safe' sign in Alexandra Rd, King William's Town in the Eastern Cape, 2 January [Photograph].
- De Jongh, M.S. 2014. SANDF Documentation Centre finding aids [Photograph].
- Delmar, P.B.G. 1985. New base opened for 115 Battalion. *Paratus*, 36(10), October:4-5.
- Delmar, P.B.G. 1986a. Bophuthatswana proud of own crack paratroopers. *Paratus*, 37(7), July:58-59.
- Delmar, P.B.G. 1986b. Flight of Puma helicopters for 16 Squadron. *Paratus*, 37(4), April:10-11.
- Delmar, P.B.G. 1986c. Red carpet of SADF in the City of Gold. *Paratus*, 37(8), August:42-43.
- Delmar, P.B.G. 1986d. 'Those gallant men from Kimberley'. *Paratus*, 37(11), November:11.
- Delmar, P.B.G., Kneen, D.R., Botes, J. & De Waal, E.J. 1985. Spectacular parade as new C SADF takes over. *Paratus*, 36(11), November:4-6.
- Dertien Weermagvroue in span vir Republiekfees. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(5), May:83.
- De Ruig, K. See Questionnaires.
- De Smidt, J.W. 1984. Die Durbanse Taptoe. *Paratus*, 35(8), August:4-5.
- De Smidt, J.W. & Hollander, P.D. 1985a. Hermanus maak sy hart oop vir Vloot. *Paratus*, 36(6), June:4-5.
- De Smidt, J.W. & Hollander, P.D. 1985b. SAKK besef die waarde van goeie opleiding. *Paratus*, 36(5), May:22-23.
- De Smidt, J.W. & Hollander, P.D. 1985c. Vrede deur samewerking en deelname bewerkstellig. *Paratus*, 36(3), March:34-39.

- De Villiers, C.F., Metrowich, F.R. & Du Plessis, J.A. 1975. *Die kommunisme in aksie*. Pretoria: Departement van Inligting.
- De Villiers, D. & De Villiers, D. 1979. Grenslied: Lied van die grenssoldaat. *Paratus*, 30(7), July:26.
- De Villiers, J. 1975. The Pandour Corps at the Cape during the rule of the Dutch East India Company. *Military History Journal* [Online], 3(3), June. Available: <http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol033jv.html> [2020, July 29].
- De Visser, L.E. 2011. Winning Hearts and Minds in the Namibian Border War. *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies* [Online], 39(1):85-100, doi: <https://doi.org/10.5787/39-1-103> [2020, July 29].
- De Waal, E.J. 1985. SALM se lede kry eie plek vir afsaal. *Paratus*, 36(11), November:66-67.
- De Witte, Ludo. 2001. *The assassination of Lumumba*. London: Verso.
- Dias Festival held in Walvis Bay. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(9), September:36.
- Dibble, V. 1966. The garrison society. *New University Thought* [Online], 5(1-2):106-115. Available: https://fau.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/fau%3A32480/datastream/OBJ/view/The_Garrison_Society.pdf [2020, July 29].
- Die 'Border Song' maak Gideon Roos gelukkig. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(3), March:41.
- Die Christen in uniform: Ons Weermag is die handhawer en beskermmer van vrede. 1975. *Paratus*, 26(2), February:26-27.
- Die eerste volbloed 'operasionele' troue. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(7), July:65.
- Die Grensman gryp gehoor aan hart. 1986. *Paratus*, 37(2), February:2.
- Die Huisgenoot se kalenderkaart vir 1964. 1963. *Die Huisgenoot*, December:36-37, 20.
- Die jeug hou fees op Fort Klapperkop. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(12), December:58.

- Die jeug ons toekoms. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(4), April:58-59.
- Die Kadetbeweging. 1970. *Paratus*, 22(10), October:25.
- Die kadette van Oudtshoorn 1894-1970. 1970. *Paratus*, 22(10), October:26-27, 29.
- Die manne van 35 Bataljon. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(1), January:10-11.
- Die nuwe *Paratus*. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(5), May:1
- Die oorlog in Angola. 1967a. *Commando*, 18(5), May:34-35.
- Die oorlog in Angola. 1967b. *Commando*, 18(8), August:17.
- Die pers het gehou van wat hulle gesien het. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(3), March:12-13.
- Die SAW lewer 'n besondere bydrae. 1975. *Paratus*, 26(11), November:14.
- Die SAW sê tot siens aan Genl C.A. Fraser, SSA, SM. 1973. *Paratus*, 24(7), July:16-17.
- Die 'Tawwe Tienies' van Kermkraal. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(3), March:23.
- Die wonder van Kersfees herdenk. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(2), Feb:68.
- Difford, I.D. 1920. *The story of the Battalion Cape Corps (1915-1919)*. Cape Town: Hortors
[Online]. Available:
http://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/difford_id_the_story_of_the_1st_cape_corps_1915_-_1919.pdf [2020, July 29].
- Directorate Infantry conference in Cape. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(12), December:44.
- Distinguished Naval Officer laid to rest. 1969. *Commando*, 20(3), March:35.
- Drakensberg Seunskoor en 202 Bn Kavango Soldatekoor. [1987]. *Program*. [S.l.].
- Drewett, M. 2004. An analysis of the censorship of popular music within the context of cultural struggle in South Africa during the 1980s. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Grahamstown: Rhodes University [Online]. Available:
<http://hdl.handle.net/10962/d1007098> [2020, July 29].

- Drewett, M. [2007]. *Shutdown: Resistance music from apartheid South Africa* [Liner notes]. South Africa: Shifty Records.
- Drewett, M. 2008a. Packaging desires; Album covers and the representation of apartheid, in G. Olwage (ed.). *Composing apartheid: Music for and against apartheid*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 115-135.
- Drewett, M. 2008b. The construction and subversion of gender stereotypes in popular cultural representations of the Border War, in G. Baines & P. Vale (eds.). *Beyond the border war: New perspectives on Southern Africa's late-Cold War conflicts*. Pretoria: University of South Africa. 94-119.
- Dr. H.F. Verwoerd: 'n Reus onder ons helde ter ruste gelê. 1966. *Commando*, 17(10), October:8-9.
- Driskill, S.D. 2010. *Military ethnomusicology: Understanding the positive impact of music on the United States Military within the American society* [Online]. Available: <https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a603252.pdf> [2020, July 29].
- Drums beat as Zulu soldiers perform. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(1), January:58.
- Duisende kindelharte verbly. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(12), December:34-35.
- Duitse musiek goed vir Lugmag-moreel. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(2), February:32.
- Dunkley, R., Morgan, N. & Westwood, S. 2010. Visiting the trenches: Exploring meanings and motivations in battlefield tourism. *Tourism Management*, 32:860-868.
- Dunn, A. 1975. Soldiers act their way into TV - and history. *Paratus*, 26(4), April:25-26.
- Du Pisani, A. 1986. *SWA/Namibia: The politics of continuity and change*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.
- Durban Tattoo a feast of stars. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(8), August:62-63.
- Durban Tattoo will mark 75th birthday of SA Defence Force. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(6), June:8.
- Durban weer gaande oor die Taptoe. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(8), August:50.

- Du Toit, B. 1984. Republic Day festivities in Caprivi: With a lot of sweat, a really fine parade. *Paratus*, 35(9), September:28.
- Du Toit, R. & Claassen, R. 2015. *Rooiplaas! 1 Valskerm Bataljon*. Tygervallei, [South Africa]: Naledi.
- Duvenhage, G.M. 1986. Letters = Briewe: Korrekte weergawe van die Jeugjaarlid. *Paratus*, 37(1), January:53.
- Dwarsoor die land gaan harte en huise vir NDPs oop. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(7), July:20-21.
- Dworetz, S.M. 1987. Before the age of reason: Liberalism and the media socialization of children. *Social Theory and Practice*, 13(2):187-218, Summer.
- Dwyer, J. 1988. Sacrifices and suffering remembered: Reasons remain the same. *Paratus*. 39(12), December:25.
- Dwyer, J. 1989. Strand proves its trust in Stellenbosch Commando. *Paratus*, 40(2), February:22.
- Eide, A. & Thee, M. (eds.). 1980. *Problems of contemporary militarism*. London: St. Martin's Press.
- Eintlik vredeliewend, maar sal vir sy land veg. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(12), December:32-34.
- 'Ek hou van uitdagings'. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(3), March:68.
- Ek praat my hart uit: Vroue moet nog baie leer in 'wêreld van die man'. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(5), May:15.
- Eksteen, M.C. 1969. Oorloë, geweldpleging en onmin heers in Afrika. *Commando*, 20(9), September:11, 13.
- Els, P. 2007. *Ongulumbashe: Where the bushwar began*. Wandsbeck, South Africa: Reach Publishers.
- Enloe, C. 1983. *Does khaki become you: The militarisation of women's lives*. London: Pluto Press.

- Enloe, C. 1989. Beyond Steve Canyon and Rambo: Feminist histories of militarized masculinity, in J. R. Gillis (ed.). *The militarization of the Western world*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Erichsen, C.W. 2001. Shoot to kill: Photographic images of the Namibian Liberation/Bush War. *Kronos*, 27, November:158-182.
- Erichsen, C.W. 2007. *Shark Island, 1904-1907: A historical overview* [Online]. Available: <http://namibia.leadr.msu.edu/items/show/154> [2020, July 29].
- Esprit de Corps echoed at Herold's Bay. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(4), April:86.
- Estes, K.W. 2006. 'Militarism', in James C. Bradford (ed.). *International Encyclopedia of Military History*. London: Routledge. 872-873.
- Evans, G. 1983. *SADF and Civic Action: Blacks in the Defence Force* [Online]. Available: <https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/wpau8316082036000028aug19839> [2020, July 29].
- Evans, G. 1989. Classrooms of war: The militarisation of white South African schooling, in J. Cock & L. Nathan (eds.). *War and society: The militarisation of South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip. 283-297.
- Event of the month: Our new president! 1978. *Paratus*, 29(11), November:23.
- Fage, J.D. 1995. *A history of Africa*. Third edition. London: Routledge.
- Falkow, D.R. 1987. Troopie products launched. *Paratus*, 38(3), March:28.
- Farewell to SAAF Choir. 1973. *Paratus*, 24(1), January:53.
- Farmer, H.G. [1912]. *The rise & development of military music*. London: Reeves.
- Farmer, H.G. 1950. *Military music*. London: Parrish.
- Fasiliteite vir vryetydsbesteding. 1974. *Paratus*, 25(4), April:30-51.
- Fees in die Kasteel. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(4), April:7.

- Fighting talk: Psychological warfare. 1968. *Mayibuye: Journal of the African National Congress South Africa South Africa*, 2(5), February:13-15.
- Fighting talk: Where is the front line? 1968. *Mayibuye: Journal of the African National Congress South Africa South Africa*, 2(6), Feb:11-12.
- Film of the month: Battle of the Bulge. 1966. *Commando*, 17(1), January:34-35.
- First Indian naval cadets trained at SAS Jalsena. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(2), February:44.
- Fish, R.E. & Primich, P.S. 1985. SA Army winners' gala. *Paratus*, 36(1), January:4-5.
- Fiske, J. 2011. *Introduction to communication studies*. Third edition. London: Routledge.
- Fleck, P. 1969. S.A. Naval Tattoo. *Commando*, 20(6), June:33.
- Foote, S.C. 1968a. Badges of the S.A. Corps of Signals, Military Police and Army Band. *Commando*, 19(5), May:28-29, 37.
- Foote, S.C. 1968b. Badges of the S.S.B, S.A.A.C., S.A.I. and S.A.T.C. *Commando*, 19(7), July:51.
- Forces' favourites*. 1988. Pretoria: Taurus.
- Forces' favourites almost 25 years old. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(4), April:34.
- Ford, C. 1989a. Cadets praised for their high standard. *Paratus*, 40(10), October:20-21.
- Ford, C. 1989b. Venda Defence Force ten years old: Strong symbol of power and unity for its citizens. *Paratus*, 40(11), November:18-19.
- Former SAAF pilot presents TV's Pop Shop. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(7), July:47.
- Frankel, P.H. 1984. *Pretoria's praetorians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Frederikse, J. 1986. *South Africa: A different kind of war: From Soweto to Pretoria*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Free academic training. 1966. *Commando*, 17(9), September:64-65.

Fried, M. 1987a. Cape Corps School's musical showpiece. *Paratus*, 38(11), November:45.

Fried, M. 1987b. Media sees the Army in action. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(12), December:22.

Fried, M. 1987c. SADF flexes its muscles at Rustenburg. *Paratus*, 38(7), July:62.

Fried, M. 1987d. Still champions! Stirring retreat ceremony by Guard. *Paratus*, 38(10), October:42.

Fried, M. 1988a. A proud moment for the SACC. *Paratus*, 39(7), July:19.

Fried, M. 1988b. Blazing 'battle' at Cape Showgrounds. *Paratus*, 39(5), May:11.

Fried, M. 1988c. Castle of Good Hope a tourist attraction. *Paratus*, 39(2), February:40.

Fried, M. 1988d. College choosing students. *Paratus*, 39(9), September:51.

Fried, M. 1988e. National Dias festival in Mossel Bay: SADF adds colour to historic occasion. *Paratus*, 39(3), March:36-38.

Fried, M. 1988f. These men must not be forgotten. *Paratus*, 39(1), January:37.

Fried, M. 1988g. Tribute to Dias at Kwaaihoek. *Paratus*, 39(4), April:6.

Fried, M. 1988h. We want to join the Army. *Paratus*, 39(3), March:14.

Fried, M. 1989. Infantry School on parade: 'Price of freedom is always high'. *Paratus*, 40(1), January:46.

From the Front: Fierce fighting over extended front as ANC-ZAPU guerillas press home attack. 1967. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, 1(11), November:4-6.

From the war zone. 1967. *Mayibuye: Journal of the African National Congress South Africa*, 1(3), October:19-20.

Frontiers kry kans om grens te besoek. 1986. *Paratus*, 37(9), September:12.

Full session of 'army life' for cadet leaders. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(3), March:80-81.

- Furter, R. 1988. Kunstenaar twee: Majoor sing van vasbyt. *Paratus*, 39(12), December:35.
- Furter, R. 1989a. Boys' High Troops the Colour in fine style. *Paratus*, 40(11), November:32-33.
- Furter, R. 1989b. R70 000 sponsorship for Cadets. *Paratus*, 40(7), July:32.
- Furter, R. 1989c. SADF adds to thrills of Cape Show. *Paratus*, 40(4), April:34-35.
- Furter, R. 1989d. Small but proud display at opening of Parliament. *Paratus*, 40(3), March:9.
- 'Galaxy 80' at Natal Command. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(4), April:50.
- Galula, D. 1964. *Counter-insurgency warfare: Theory and practice*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Security International [Online]. Available: <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Counterinsurgency-Warfare%3A-Theory-and-Practice-Galula/f2d2aedbdcab918cc7c2d837882aff7068db6d4f> [2020, July 29].
- Gebeurtenis van die maand: SAUK vroue vir diens aan SAW vereer. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(8), August:52.
- Geldenhuys, D. 1981. *Some foreign policy implications of South Africa's "Total National Strategy", with particular reference to the '12-pointplan'* [Online]. Available: <https://www.africaportal.org/publications/some-foreign-policy-implications-of-south-africas-total-national-strategy-with-particular-reference-to-the-12-point-plan/> [2020, July 29].
- Genl Viljoen attends Durban Regiment's red-letter day. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(10), October:31.
- George girls yearning to serve the country. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(10), October:54-55.
- Gericke, M. 1973. BBK, George, besoek die grens. 1973. *Supplement to Paratus*, 24(12), December:iv.
- Germani, H. 1967. *White soldiers in black Africa*. Cape Town: Nasionale Boekhandel.
- Gesneuweldes word onthou. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(12), December:21.

- Gewese troepie ontpop in gewilde sanger. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(8), August:22.
- Gewetensbesware: Verdere ontwikkelings. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(5), May:11.
- Gillis, J.R. (ed.). 1989. *The militarization of the Western world*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Gimnastrade 'n ware skouspel. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(8), August:42-43.
- Gleijeses, P. 2003. *Conflicting missions: Havana, Washington, Pretoria*. Alberton: Galago.
- Glittering gala evening. 1989. *Paratus*, 40(1), January:34.
- Godsdiensbeswaardes: Antwoorde op vrae. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(6), June:2, 11.
- Godsdienstige oortuiging of selfsugtige politieke motief? 1983. *Paratus*, 34(3), March:13, 28.
- Goeie rassebetrekkinge is ons grootste wapen. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(11), November:9-11.
- Gold, J.R. & Revill, G. 1999. Landscapes of defence. *Landscape Research*, 24(3):229-239.
- Good relations! 1980. *Paratus*, 31(12), December:50.
- Gordon, R.J. 2005. 'Namibia (Southwest Africa): League of Nations, United Nations Mandate', in Kevin Shillington (ed.). *Encyclopedia of African History*. Vol. 2. New York: Fitzroy Dearborn. 1067-1068.
- Grabman, J.D. 1985. Bushmen amazed by city life, but home in the bush is best! *Paratus*, 36(11), November:48-49, 57.
- Grant, M.J. 2013. Music and punishment in the British Army in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. *The World of Music*, 2(1):9-30.
- Great enthusiasm showed by voluntary soldiers. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(4), April:35.
- Greeff, L. 1977. Soldaat gewis ... maar steeds vrou. *Paratus*, 28(4), April:4-6.
- Grootste revueparade nog op Bethlehem: NDPs wys van watter staal hulle gemaak is. 1986. *Paratus*, 37(9), September:19.

- Grundy, K.W. 1983. *Soldiers without politics: Blacks in the South African Armed Forces*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Guthrie, W. 2019. *This land is your land* [Online]. Available: https://www.woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/This_Land.htm [2020, July 29].
- HA. 1969. Tydskrifte en publikasies uitgegee deur Departement van Verdediging. *Hansard*, vol 25-27, col 1846 (4 March).
- HA. 1975. Begrotingswetsontwerp. *Hansard*, vol 55-59, col 4699-4704 (23 April).
- HA. 1978. Periodieke publikasie deur Departement van Verdediging uitgegee. *Hansard*, vol 76, col 797-798 (6 June).
- HA. 1980. Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag: Publikasies. *Hansard*, vol 89, col 749-753 (23 May).
- HA. 1983. Weermag: Publikasies. *Hansard*, vol 110, col 2085-2092 (7 September).
- Hare, D. See Questionnaires.
- Harrigan, A. 1965. *Defence against total attack*. Cape Town: Nasionale Boekhandel.
- Harris, Kevin. 2011. *Apartheid propaganda, militarised society* [Video file]. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oqyoMkF9w20> [2020, July 29].
- Hartbeesfontein-Kommando. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(12), December:32.
- Harvey, K. See Questionnaires.
- Hattingh, C. 1989a. Pretoria Highlanders 50 jaar oud. *Paratus*, 40(8), August:42.
- Hattingh, C. 1989b. Tyd vir vrede is hier. *Paratus*, 40(12), December:32.
- Hattingh, C. 1989c. Vermaak uit die boonste rakke. *Paratus*, 40(10), October:17.
- Hauptfleisch, T. 2004. Eventification: Utilizing the theatrical system to frame the event, in V.A. Cremona, P. Eversmann, H. van Maanen, W. Sauter & J. Tulloch (eds.). *Theatrical events: Borders, dynamics, frames*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. 279-302.

- Hauptfleisch, T. 2007. Festivals as eventifying systems, in T. Hauptfleisch, S. Lev-Aladgem, J. Martin, W. Sauter & H. Schoenmakers (eds.). *Festivalising! Theatrical events, politics and culture*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. 39-47.
- He has played music in every sphere. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(6), June:76.
- Heitman, H-R. 1990. *War in Angola: The final South African phase*. Gibraltar: Ashanti.
- Helde vereer: 'niemand leef vir homself nie'. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(9), September:26.
- Heldhaftige soldate van die toekoms. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(7), July:24-25.
- Hele Suidwes wil na hulle luister. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(4), April:19.
- Henning, C.G. 1984. 'Military bands in the Eastern Cape (1806-1913)', in J.P. Malan (ed.). *South African Music Encyclopedia*. Vol. III. Cape Town: Oxford University Press. 235-241.
- Hennop, J. 1988a. Eie vaandel vir 201 Bataljon: Trotse dag vir Boesmans. *Paratus*, 39(12), December:30.
- Hennop, J. 1988b. SA soldate van beste. *Paratus*, 39(12), December:24.
- Hennop, J. 1989. Trotse vaandels in Noord-Kaap. *Paratus*, 40(11), November:33.
- Herman, R.D.K. 2008. Inscribing empire: Guam and the war in the Pacific National Historical Park. *Political Geography*, 27:630-651.
- Hierdie koor doen veel meer as net sing. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(4), April:81.
- Hofmann, P. 1960. Bunche says '60 is Year of Africa. *New York Times*, 16 February:15.
- Holliday, N. 1968. Transvaal Scottish troop the colour. *Commando*, 19(11), November:37-39.
- Holtzhausen, R.F. 1967. Waarom militêre opleiding. *Commando*, 18(8), August:15.
- Hoof van tydskrifte. 1974. *Paratus*, 25(5), May:1.
- Hoogland beste op liedjiefees. 1989. *Paratus*, 40(12), December:47.

- Hospitaalversoeke uit 1 Mil Hosp uitgesaai. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(2), *February*:49.
- Hougaard, K. See Interviews.
- House of Assembly Debates. See HA.
- HTS Ficksburg se orkeste skitter in kompetisie. 1986. *Paratus*, 37(12), *December*:6.
- Hul opofferings was nie tevergeefs nie. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(1), *January*:54-55.
- Human Rights Watch. 2006. *The Rwandan genocide: How it was prepared. A Human Rights Watch briefing paper* [Online]. Available:
<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/background/africa/rwanda0406/rwanda0406.pdf> [2020, July 29].
- Hurt, D.A. 2010. Reinterpreting the Washita Battlefield National Historic Site. *The Geographical Review*, 100:375-393.
- Hydén, G., Leslie, M. & Ogundimu, F.F. 2002. *Media and democracy in Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Imrie, John Murdoch McGregor. 1976. *The military band in South Africa*. [Pretoria]: South African Navy Printing Press.
- ‘Indiana 81’ exhibition. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(11), *November*:78.
- Indians proud to contribute to SA’s defence. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(11), *November*:8.
- Indians volunteer for border duty. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(4), *April*:22.
- Indian trainees learn Afrikaans. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(8), *August*:50.
- Indian volunteers fit easily into Navy’s way of life. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(3), *March*:4.
- Infanterieskool het sy eie lied in die hart. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(6), *June*:53.
- Ingle, N.P. 1971. The Durban High School cadets in retrospect. *Paratus*, 22(7), *July*:84.
- Inhuldiging. 1968. *Commando*, 19(7), *July*:9.

- Insure your lives with the forces of progress. 1982. *Mayibuye: Journal of the African National Congress South Africa South Africa*, 5:2-3.
- Interview: The apartheid state and the churches. 1989. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, 23(10), October:20-22.
- It's no dog's life at SAS Jalsena. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(1), January:43.
- Jacobs, C.J. 2009. Conflict between South Africa and Mozambique, 1975-1989, within the framework of the Cold War and regional tensions. *Journal for Contemporary History* [Electronic], 34(1):281-297. Available: http://reference.sabinet.co.za/webx/access/electronic_journals/contemp/contemp_v34_n1_a17.pdf [2020, July 29].
- Jaenecke, Heinrich. 1987. *Die weißen Herren: 300 Jahre Krieg und Gewalt in Südafrika*. Hamburg: Stern-Buch Verlag.
- Janie besoek *Paratus*. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(4), April:35.
- Jansen van Rensburg, C.E. 2013. Institutional manifestations of music censorship and surveillance in apartheid South Africa with specific reference to the SABC from 1974 to 1996. Unpublished master's thesis. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University [Online]. Available: <https://www.musicinafrica.net/sites/default/files/attachments/article/201411/jansenvanrensburginstitutional2013.pdf> [2020, July 29].
- Jansen van Rensburg, M.J. 1985a. Ermelo Kommando 100 jaar oud. *Paratus*, 36(5), May:12-13.
- Jansen van Rensburg, M.J. 1985b. Spaanse danse húl manier van dankie sê. *Paratus*, 36(3), March:4-5.
- Janssen, E. 1986. Spogaand van orasie en vermaak: Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag: 75 jaar onoorwonne. *Paratus*, 37(12), December:28.
- Janssen, E. 1987a. Konsertinas gekielie dat die voete jeuk! *Paratus*, 38(2), February:20-21.

- Janssen, E. 1987b. Mess on Wynberg Hill celebrates centenary. *Paratus*, 38(3), March:45.
- Janssen, E. 1987c. SAAF Border Entertainment tour: A special treat for troops in Ops Area. *Paratus*, 38(6), June:44-45.
- Janssen, E. 1988. A great open day at Army Women's College. *Paratus*, 39(6), June:17.
- Jersich, J.H. 1986a. 113 Bataljon: Hoë standaard van kennis, opleiding hier verwesenlik. *Paratus*, 37(8), August:20-22.
- Jersich, J.H. 1986b. SAW help met die bewaring van Tswana-kultuur. *Paratus*, 37(1), January:62-63.
- Jeugjaar 85 = Youth year 85: Uitdagings van die toekoms aanvaar deur jeug van RSA. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(12), December:14.
- Jochelson, K. & Buntman, F. 1989. Shopping for war: An analysis of consumerist militarism, in J. Cock & L. Nathan (eds.). *War and society: The militarisation of South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip. 298-306.
- John, P.N. 1984a. In the Diamond City ... SADF birthday celebration was a glittering occasion. *Paratus*, 35(8), August:34-36.
- John, P.N. 1984b. The Cape Corps: Proud defenders of the RSA. *Paratus*, 35(6), June:6-7, 9-10, 18.
- John, P.N. 1985. 21 Bn: A valuable asset to the SADF. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(6), June:52-54.
- Join now and keep our land, skies and seas inviolate. 1975. *Paratus*, 26(4), April:30.
- Jones, D. 1987. Natal Carbineers's fine old Regimental Band. *Paratus*, 38(8), August:26.
- Jones, D. 2013. Objecting to apartheid: The history of the End Conscription Campaign. Unpublished master's thesis. [Alice]: University of Fort Hare [Online]. Available: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/145042157.pdf> [2020, July 29].
- Jones, J.B. 2006. *The songs that fought the war: Popular music and the home front, 1939-1945*. Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press.

- Jooste, A. 1988. *Recce* gaan sorg vir hoogdrama op kassie. *Paratus*, 39(11), November:29.
- Jooste, A. 1989a. Die Kanaries: Goue sertifikate vir goue stemme. *Paratus*, 40(11), November:34.
- Jooste, A. 1989b. George-meisies groot aanwins: ‘Kans van ‘n leeftyd’ by Interne Oudit. *Paratus*, 40(2), February:45.
- Jooste, A. 1989c. *Paratus*-glansartikel oor die SAW se 77ste verjaardagviering-afskedsparade vir die Staatspresident in Kaapstad: ‘Ek is trots op ons manne en vroue in uniform’. *Paratus*, 40(8), August:16-17.
- Jooste, A. 1989d. Visie van vrede vir ‘n ‘nuwe’ RSA. *Paratus*, 40(10), October:36-37.
- Jooste, L. 1995. FC Erasmus as Minister van Verdediging, 1948- 1959. Unpublished master’s thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa [Online]. Available: <http://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/17026> [2020, July 29].
- Juslin, P.N., Liljeström, S., Laukka, P., Västfjäll, D. & Lundqvist, L. 2011. Emotional reactions to music in a nationally representative sample of Swedish adults: Prevalence and causal influences. *Musicae Scientiae* [Electronic], 15(2):174–207, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1029864911401169> [2020, July 29].
- Juta, C.J. 1968. Communist strategy in S.E. Asia. *Commando*, 19(7), July:17-18, 64.
- Kadette hul skool se trots. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(8), August:76-77.
- Kadette vorm bolwerk teen die Kommunisme. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(2), February:34-35.
- Kallenbach, M. 1969. Light Horse Regt. gets new colours. *Commando*, 20(7), July:34-37.
- Kappey, J.A. 2010. *Military music: A history of wind-instrumental bands*. Memphis, Tennessee: General Books.
- Karbusicky, V. 1975. *Empirische Musiksoziologie: Erscheinungsformen, Theorie und Philosophie des Bezugs ‘Musik-Gesellschaft’*. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel.

- Kartomi, M. 2010. Toward a methodology of war and peace studies in ethnomusicology: The case of Aceh, 1976-2009. *Ethnomusicology*, 54(3):452-483.
- Katz, H.M. 1985. Where are they now? - 129: Former NSM Rabin rocks to stardom. *Paratus*, 36(8), August:56-57.
- Katz, R & Dahlhaus, C. 1987. *Contemplating music: Source readings in the aesthetics of music. Vol. I: Substance*. New York: Pendragon Press.
- Katz, R & Dahlhaus, C. 1989. *Contemplating music: Source readings in the aesthetics of music. Vol. II: Import*. New York: Pendragon Press.
- Katz, R & Dahlhaus, C. 1993. *Contemplating music: Source readings in the aesthetics of music. Volume IV: Community of discourse*. New York: Pendragon Press.
- Keeler, T. 1969. Laying-up of Regimental Colour of 1st City Regiment Grahamstown. *Commando*, 20(9), September:33-35.
- Kellner, C. & González, S-A. (eds.). 2009. *Thami Mnyele & Medu Art Ensemble retrospective*. Johannesburg: Jacana.
- Kennedy, C. 1989a. Colourful Militaria Expo '89 in Durban. *Paratus*, 40(9), September:45.
- Kennedy, C. 1989b. Durban Tattoo: Indoor venue spectacular success. *Paratus*, 40(11), November:6-7.
- Kennedy, C. 1989c. QMG tightens bond with workers. *Paratus*, 40(3), March:35.
- Kerkhof, I. 1986. Music and censorship in South Africa. *Rixaka: Cultural Journal of the African National Congress*, 2:27-31.
- Khoza, R. 1989. National Colour presented at 121 Bn at Mtubatuba. *Paratus*, 40(9), September:35.
- Khunou, S.F. 2009. Traditional leadership and independent Bantustans of South Africa: Some milestones of transformative constitutionalism beyond apartheid. *PER: Potchefstroomse Elektroniese Regsblad* [Electronic], 12(4), January:81-125.

Available: http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1727-37812009000400005 [2020, July 29].

- Kinders se onvergeetlike besoek aan die SAW. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(1), January:55.
- Kleurryke optog in die Baai. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(6), June:17.
- Kleyn, W. 1988a. 111 Bataljon: Hoë standaard van opleiding. *Paratus*, 39(11), November:32-33.
- Kleyn, W. 1988b. Die ware beskermers: Soweto bring hulde aan 21Bn. *Paratus*, 39(9), September:16-17.
- Kleyn, W. 1988c. Durbanse Taptoe: Een van wêreld se beste. *Paratus*, 39(8), August:12-13.
- Kleyn, W. 1989a. 113 Bataljon: Die vrede gedy waar natuur sy gang gaan. *Paratus*, 40(2), February:4-5.
- Kleyn, W. 1989b. 116 Bataljon: Skouer aan skouer dien hulle die SAW. *Paratus*, 40(1), January:30-31.
- Kleyn, W. 1989c. Mediadag op Lenz: Iets vir spier en brein. *Paratus*, 40(2), February:12-13.
- Kmdmt OP huldig Portugese gemeenskap. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(8), August:43.
- Kneen, D.R. 1986. Echoes of Irish traditions in SA military history. *Paratus*, 37(1), January:34-38.
- Kohler, D. & VanHecke, S. 2009. *Rock 'n roll soldier: A memoir*. N.Y.: Harper Collins.
- Kollege verwerf ook roem met trompet en tamboer. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(5), May:63.
- Kollig op ons jeug: Waarde van kadette bewys. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(6), June:78-80.
- Koor se puik prestasie. 1989. *Paratus*, 40(4), April:26.
- Korff, G. 2009. *19 with a bullet: A South African paratrooper in Angola*. Johannesburg: 30° South Publishers.

- Kraaines se 'Troepies' wen kompetisie. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(3), March:23.
- Kruys, A. 1971. Mevrou, is u ook in die Weermag? *Paratus*, 22(5), May:72-73.
- Kuils River honours men of the SACC. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(8), August:25.
- Lahiri, N. 2003. Commemorating and remembering 1857: The revolt in Delhi and its afterlife. *World Archaeology*, 35:35-60.
- Lambert, A. 1989. Armistice Day: Johannesburg pays homage. *Paratus*, 40(12), December:33.
- Lang lewe van diens. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(10), October:6.
- Lasswell, H.D. 1941. The garrison state. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 46(4):455-468.
- Lasswell, H.D. 1948. The structure and function of communication in society, in L. Bryson (ed.). *The communication of ideas: A series of addresses*. New York: Harper. 37-51.
- Late-night applause at Bourke's Luck. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(7), July:44.
- Leërorke se manne blink uit in sport. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(7), July:44.
- Le Huray, P. & Day, J. (eds.). 1988. *Music and aesthetics in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leon, A. 1976. 1 Transkei Battalion and 21 Battalion: Object lesson in togetherness at Lenz. *Paratus*, 27(3), March:19-21.
- Leon, A. & Brews, G. 1976. The Republic or the Transkei becomes independent: The SADF's magnificent participation. *Paratus*, 27(11), November:20-22.
- Leslie, R.D. 1987. A touch of class at Gordon's Bay. *Paratus*, 38(8), August:16-17.
- Leslie, R.D. 1988a. Famous choir adapts Drakensberg. *Paratus*, 39(12), December:23.
- Leslie, R.D. 1988b. SA Navy welcomes Caravel in Durban. *Paratus*, 39(7), July:29.

- Levitin, D.J. 2006. *This is your brain on music: The science of a human obsession*. New York: Dutton.
- Liebenberg, B.J. & Spies, S.B. (eds.). 1993. *South Africa in the 20th Century*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Liebenberg, I., Du Plessis, T. & Van der Westhuizen, G. 2010. Through the mirage: Retracing moments of a war “up there”. *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* [Online], 38(2):131-149, doi: <https://doi.org/10.5787/38-2-94> [2020, July 29].
- Lifton, R.J. 1982. Beyond psychic numbing: A call to awareness. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 52(4), October:619-629.
- Like father, like son. 1973. *Paratus*, 24(7), July:46.
- Lindeque, L. 1976. Doppina. *Paratus*, 27(5), May:32.
- Lippman, E.A. (ed.). 1986. *Musical aesthetics: A historical reader: From antiquity to the eighteenth century*. New York: Pendragon Press.
- Listen to Radio Freedom. 1975. *Mayibuye: Journal of the African National Congress South Africa South Africa*, 1(3), March:6.
- Listen to Radio Freedom: Voice of the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army. 1985. *Rixaka: Cultural Journal of the African National Congress*, 1:1.
- Locally trained troops on parade. 1989. *Paratus*, 40(7), July:35.
- Logistieke statistieke van die groot parade. 1966. *Commando*, 17(7), July:8-9, 12.
- Loopbaan S.A. Kleurlingkorps Staande Mag = Career S.A. Coloured Corps Permanent Force. 1966. *Commando*, 17(2), February:58.
- Lord, D. 2008. *Vlamgat: The story of the Mirage F1 in the South African Air Force*. Johannesburg: 30° South Publishers.

- Lötter, E. 1976a. Lt. genl P.A. le Grange, SM, se breinkind 'n treffer: Musiek bou Weermagbeeld. *Paratus*, 27(5), May:7-8.
- Lötter, E. 1976b. Ons Kanaries steel harte, dra SAW-beeld uit, samel fondse in. *Paratus*, 27(7), July:22-23.
- Lötter, E. 1977. Beroepsvroue in Weermag. *Paratus*, 28(2), February:24-35.
- Louw, J.A. 1969. S.A. Vloot: Vryheid van Toegang tot die stad Kaapstad. *Commando*, 20(10), October:34-35.
- Louw, J.E. 1974. Vryetydsbesteding: Las of bate? *Paratus*, 25(4), April:2-11.
- Louw, R.C. 1985. Wynberg Boys' High School scores top marks for their enthusiasm. *Paratus*, 36(1), January:14-15.
- Lovely models at SAS Jalsena. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(2), February:20.
- Luckham, R. 1971. A comparative typology of civil-military relations. *Government and Opposition*:6.
- Lüdemann, W. 2003. Uit die diepte van ons see: An archetypal interpretation of selected examples of Afrikaans patriotic music. *SAMUS*, 23:13-41.
- Lugmag se gewilde koor. 1972. *Paratus*, 23(1), January:14-17.
- Luisterryke konsert deur SAKK aangebied. 1986. *Paratus*, 37(11), November:6.
- Maak vrede met diensplig. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(1), January:24.
- Maas, G.P. 1984. Ywer grootste nog in Wes-Kaapland. *Paratus*, 35(10), October:21.
- Maketha, T.P. 1980. Ons lewe nog lekker hier. *Paratus*, 31(2), February:51.
- Malan, M. 2006. *My lewe saam met die SA Weermag*. Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis.

- Mallette, H.M., George, W. & Blum, I. 2018. Segmenting the audience attending a military music festival. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management* [Electronic], 9(1);67-85, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJEFM-04-2017-0026> [2020, July 29].
- Malherbe, V.C. 2002. The Khoekhoe soldier at the Cape of Good Hope: How the Khoekhoen were drawn into the Dutch and British defensive systems, to c 1809. *Military History Journal* [Online], 12(3), June. Available: <http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol123vm.html> [2020, July 29].
- Mann, M.1987. The roots and contradictions of modern militarism. *New Left Review*:162.
- Mannekrag, vuurkrag en hulde. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(11), November:22-27.
- Mantle, R. 2009. *Military music in the campaign of 1866*. Solihull: Helion.
- Marais, Jan S. 1974. *Paratus* een van ons puikste publikasies – President van die SA Stigting. *Paratus*, 25(12), December:56
- Margolis, B. 1983. She fell in love forty times in four days. *Paratus*, 34(2), February:57.
- Mari Coetzer gesels lekker met *Paratus*. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(6), June:68.
- Marievale makes new intake feel welcome with a song. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(8), August:8.
- Marsland, T. 1989. SA Navy medal parade: SADF kept on its toes. *Paratus*, 40(10), October:10.
- Martins, DP. 1988. Skouspel op SAW verjaardag. *Paratus*, 39(8), August:6-8.
- Masango, M.D. 1978. The heroes of the Caprivi. *Paratus*, 29(6), June:9.
- Masango, M.D. 1979a. The black man's view: Christianity or communism? *Paratus*, 30(10), October:41.
- Masango, M.D. 1979b. The black man's view: Defence is very important for our country. *Paratus*, 30(5), May:4.

- Masango, M.D. 1979c. The black man's view: Flocking to Armscor. *Paratus*, 30(9), September:45.
- Masango, M.D. 1979d. The black man's view: How are urban black people aware of the dangers of Marxism? *Paratus*, 30(4), April:6
- Masango, M.D. 1979e. The black man's view: Improving human relations in the SADF. *Paratus*, 30(7), July:4.
- Masango, M.D. 1979f. The black man's view: Should Blacks do National Service? *Paratus*, 30(11), November:40.
- Masango, M.D. 1979g. The black man's view: Welfare services to 21 Battalion. *Paratus*, 30(8), August:37.
- Mass display at P.E. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(8), August:33.
- Matthews, J. 1967. Forward to a people's democratic Republic of South Africa. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, 1(9), September:8-11.
- Mayibuye. 2019. *Digital Innovation South Africa (DISA)* [Online]. Available: <http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/ma> [2020, July 29].
- Mayson, C. 1987. Christianity and revolution: A battle fought on many fronts. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, 21(10), October:12-15.
- McCombs, M. 2014. *Setting the agenda: The mass media and public opinion*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- McGoldrick, A. 1968. 'Now that you have come to the end of this very interesting issue of *Commando* you will probably want to talk turkey'. *Commando* (Supplement), 19(10), October:iii.
- McMillan, J.R. 1986a. Memorial service at Fort Klapperkop. *Paratus*, 37(9):36.
- McMillan, J.R. 1986b. The lady in white. *Paratus*, 37(6), June:50-51.
- Medewerker. 1983. Godsdienbeswaar en dienspligweiering. *Paratus*, 34(5), May:11.

- Mediavroue se kosbare avontuur 'in die bos'. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(4), April:40-41.
- Megoran, N. 2008. Militarism, realism, just war, or nonviolence? Critical geopolitics and the problem of normativity. *Geopolitics*, 13(3), July:473-497.
- Memorable day at the SAAW Col. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(1), January:71.
- Memorable night for PE Naval Cadets. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(11), November:45.
- Men from SAS Jalsena entertain headmasters. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(1), January:58.
- Men who 'served the guns' honoured. 1989. *Paratus*, 40(7), July:29.
- Met musiek dra hulle die beeld uit. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(10), October:72-73.
- Metsing, I. 1980. The black man's view: 'We prefer the SADF!'. *Paratus*, 31(6), June:49.
- Miami, here I come! 1982. *Paratus*, 33(5), May:77.
- Mies, P. [n.d.]. The musical score of emotions. *Max Planck research* [Online], 4(15):32-38. Available: https://www.mpg.de/9788927/F003_focus_032-039.pdf [2020, July 29].
- Military customs and traditions. 1974. *Paratus*, 25(1), January:14-17.
- Military customs and traditions = Militêre gewoontes en tradisies. 1982. *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* [Online], 12(3):51-52, doi: <https://doi.org/10.5787/12-3-612> [2020, July 29].
- Militêre dag aan Weskus. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(8), August:32.
- Militêre diens: Bruin gemeenskap bring hul kant. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(6), June:55.
- Mills, L. 1988. Pipe Band is SA Junior Champion for 4th time. *Paratus*, 39(10), October:11.
- Mills, L. 1989a. Day of friendship for 21 Battalion. *Paratus*, 40(8), August:30-31.
- Mills, L. 1989b. Freedom of Entry for 2 Medical Battalion Group: Citizen Force members' role is of great importance. *Paratus*, 40(8), August:19.

- Mills, L. 1989c. Regiment Eastern Transvaal is 25 Years old. *Paratus*, 40(11), November:36-37.
- Mills, L. 1989d. Those who lost lives serving RSA honoured. *Paratus*, 40(9), September:6.
- ‘Min hare, baie dae’ strictly as requested. 1977. *Paratus*, 28(3), March:30-31.
- Mockler, A. 1969. *Mercenaries*. London: Macdonald.
- Moll, T. 1981. *The steel crocodile: An analysis of the role of the military establishment in the South African social formation, with particular reference to Paratus* [Online]. Available:
http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/index.php?inventory_enhanced/U/Collections&c=196880/R/AG1977-A5-29 [2020, July 29].
- Möller, P.W. 1975. Volkekunde is ‘n magtige wapen. *Paratus*, 26(11), November:18-20.
- Moloantoa, D. 2017. *The missionary beginnings of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* [Online]. Available:
<http://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/missionary-beginnings-nkosi-sikelel-iafrika> [2020, July 29].
- Montagu, J., Suppan, A., Suppan, W., Murray, D.J.S. & Camus, R.F. 2001. ‘Military music’, in Stanley Sadie & John Tyrrell (eds.). *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*. 2nd ed. Vol. 16. London: Macmillan. 683-690.
- More candidates than instructors can handle. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(8), August:21.
- Morris, P. See Interviews.
- Morrow, C.A. 2009. Selling the war, surviving the war: The use of Music during the border war. Unpublished master’s thesis. Durban: University of KwaZulu Natal.
- MOTHs memorial service. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(1), January:31.
- Motsei, R.J. 1978. Aim at urban blacks. *Paratus*, 29(8), August:7.
- MPs fête parents. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(11), November:73.

- Muller, S. 1981. 'n Moeder se onbewimpelde kommentaar ná haar besoek aan die Ops Gebied. *Paratus*, 32(2), February:30-31.
- Müller, D. 1974. Só het *Paratus* gegroei. *Paratus*, 25(12), December:15-18.
- Mushelenga, N. 2017. See Interviews.
- Music and torture, music and punishment. 2013. *The World of Music*, 2(1).
- Music while you eat. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(8), August:35.
- Musikante = Musicians. 1969. *Commando*, 20(2), February:21.
- Musto, R. 1986. *The Catholic peace tradition*. New York: Orbis Books.
- Namas vrywillig na vore om hul land te verdedig. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(11), November:33.
- Nasionale Diensplig (1): Ons vir jou Suid-Afrika: 30 000 Suid-Afrikaanse seuns per jaar dienspligting ... WAAROM? 1970. *Commando*, 21(6), June:8-9, 70.
- Nathan, L. 1989. 'Marching to a different beat': The history of the End Conscription Campaign, in J. Cock & L. Nathan (eds.). *War and society: The militarisation of South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip. 308-323.
- Navy Band had Pretorians and patients applauding. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(2), February:42.
- Navy beats the bar! 1984. *Paratus*, 35(11), November:6.
- Navy celebrates SADF 75 in PE and East London. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(6), June:10-11.
- NDPs word geskool in volkere-verhoudinge. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(11), November:12-13.
- Net soos die ware Jakob: Duursame metaal speelgoed. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(11), November:[36-37].
- Net vier jaar oud maar ... 'n jong Weermag floreer in Suidwes-Afrika. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(11), November:24-25.
- New HQ for PE Naval Cadet Corps. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(5), May:14-15.

News from the battlefield: A knock-out attack. 1981. *SWAPO of Namibia: Information & Comments*, 12, December:5-7.

News from the war front. 1967. *Mayibuye: Journal of the African National Congress South Africa South Africa*, 1(7), November:2-4.

New splendour for PAG Memorial. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(6), June:33.

‘n Gelukkige vol lewe. 1971. *Paratus*, 22(3), March:76-77.

‘n Helpende hand: Dienspligtiges in die Tuislande. 1978. *Paratus*. 29(7), July:24-25.

Niditch, S. 1993. *War in the Hebrew Bible: A study in the ethics of violence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nieuwoudt, S. 2013. ‘Dankie Tannie’ parcels helped to keep up the spirits [Online].

Available:

http://www.sun.ac.za/english/archive/Lists/English_News_Archive_110518/DispForm.aspx?ID=789 [2020, July 29].

NIRA’s World Directory of Think Tanks. [2004]. *Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria (ISSUP)* [Online]. Available:

<http://www.nira.or.jp/past/ice/nwdtt/2005/DAT/1287.html> [2020, July 29].

‘n Loopbaan in die Staande Mag: Plek vir diegene wat iets vir hul land wil doen. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(1), January:34.

Noel-Baker, P. 1958. *The arms race: A programme for world disarmament*. New York: Calder.

Nog meer *Paratusse* oorsee verlang. 1977. *Paratus*, 28(10), October:38.

Nog ‘n Projek Mikrofoon - en Tannie Esmé kom weer bo uit! 1983. *Paratus*, 34(4), April:77.

Nombanza, J. See Interviews.

Nöthling, C.J. 1985. The role of non-whites in the South African Defence Force. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(8), August:22-23.

Nöthling, C.J. & Steyn, L. 1986. The role of non-whites in the South African Defence Force. *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* [Online], 16(2):47-54, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5787/16-2-457> [2020, July 29].

NSM helped deliver baby by radio. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(4), April:102

NSM of the month: Singing in SADF makes him happy. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(10), October:61.

Nuus uit Suidwestelike Afrika: Verkenningstog in die Ops Gebied. *Paratus*, 40(4), April:4-6.

Odendaal, E. 1970. Reklame! Wat is u aandeel? *Commando*, 21(1), January:15, 29.

O'Malley, P. 2015. *Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)* [Online]. Available:

<https://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02424/04lv02730/05lv03188/06lv03214.htm> [2020, July 29].

Ons duikboot word ter water gelaat. 1969. *Commando*, 20(7), July:10-11.

Ons praat gesaghebbend = Our message reverberates. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(2), February:2

Ons soldateliedkompetisie is gewen deur 'n Kapenaar. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(10), October:23.

On the road to fame. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(7), July:46-47.

Ons Veiligheidsmagte: Nog 'n voorwaartse stap. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(2), February:11.

Onvergeetlike militêre vertoon deur magtige SA Weermag. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(7), July:6-7.

Oosthuyse, S.A. 1989. Gen Malan thanks businessmen: SADF can show how it protects.

Paratus, 40(5), May:37-38.

Opening of Parliament: The SADF and SAP on parade and the crowd loved it. *Paratus*, 35(3), March:30-31.

Opening of Stal Plein, Cape Town [Video file]. 2015. Available:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dFT1g432-IE> [2020, July 29].

Operation WR/DLR.: They feared no foe. 1968. *Commando*, 19(7), July:33-35, 51.

- Op Kroonstad is kadet-wees 'n ernstige saak. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(5), May:46-47.
- Opperbevel Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag. 1977. *Paratus*, 28(2), February:II.
- Origins of the Zimbabwe people's struggle. 1978. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, 12(1), January-February-March:45-55.
- Orkeste van die Weermag dra beeld na buite. 1977. *Paratus*, 28(8), August:14-15.
- Ouens soos ons. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(8), August:38.
- Our Army Girl of the Year. 1975. *Paratus*, 26(11), November:2-3.
- Our black soldiers are keen to go to the border. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(3), March:31.
- Our NSMs of tomorrow learn the ropes at cadet training camp. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(9), September:34-35.
- Our rear bases are the people. 1984. *Mayibuye: Journal of the African National Congress South Africa South Africa*, 5:4-5.
- Pages from history: What is PAC. 1981. *Sechaba*, 15(11), November:15-23.
- Paratus* kom by enige adres uit. 1976. *Paratus*, 27(7), July:1.
- Paratus* se groot sangkompetisie. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(4), April:24.
- Paratus* se soldateliedkompetisie. 1980a. *Paratus*, 31(6), June:8.
- Paratus* se soldateliedkompetisie. 1980b. *Paratus*, 31(6), September:22.
- Paratus* soldiers' song competition. 1980a. *Paratus*, 31(5), May:8.
- Paratus* soldiers' song competition. 1980b. *Paratus*, 31(7), July:8.
- Paratus* soldiers' song competition. 1980c. *Paratus*, 31(8), August:8.
- Passing-out parade at SAS Saldanha. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(1), January:16.

- Pentopoulos, G. 1986. Singular honour for 21 Battalion, Lenz. *Paratus*, 37(12), December:32.
- Pentopoulos, G. 1987a. 'Men's week' at university: Enlightening future National Servicemen. *Paratus*, 38(10), October:36.
- Pentopoulos, G. 1987b. The Durban Tattoo: SADF participation becomes feast. *Paratus*, 38(8), August:12-13.
- Pentopoulos, G. 1988a. 21 Battalion back from Ops area. *Paratus*, 39(8), August:16.
- Pentopoulos, G. 1988b. Popular Amanda rewarded for her 'Salute'. *Paratus*, 39(8), August:40.
- Peterson, P. 1972. The social basis of nationalist party power. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, 6(7), July:2-11.
- Phillips, M.W. 2002. The End Conscription Campaign 1933-1933: A study of white extra-parliamentary opposition to apartheid. Unpublished master's thesis. Pretoria: Unisa [Online]. Available: <http://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/15771> [2020, July 29].
- Picard, J.H. 1990. Military traditions with special reference to South Africa. *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* [Online], 20(1):1-12. <http://scientiamilitaria.journals.ac.za/pub/article/view/368/405> [2020, July 29].
- Pienaar, A. 1970. Noodhulp: Is u gereed? *Commando*, 21(5), May:31.
- Pieslak, J. 2009. *Sound targets: American soldiers and music in the Iraq war*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Pike, H.R. 1985. *A history of communism in South Africa*. Germiston: Christian Mission International of South Africa.
- Pirnie, B.R. & O'Connell, E. 2008. Conducting counterinsurgency operations: Lessons from Iraq (2003-2006). *RAND National Defense Research Institute* [Online], doi: <https://doi.org/10.7249/RB9323> [2020, July 29].

- Pitkos vir uniformdraers in radioprogram. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(5):41.
- PLAN-reports: Editorial: Inside the semi-liberated areas. 1981. *SWAPO of Namibia: Information & Comments*, 12, December:3-4.
- Ploeger, J. 1971. Defence Force, South African. In: *Standard encyclopedia of Southern Africa*, vol 3. Cape Town: Nasou. 601-617.
- Pollard, T. 2007. Burying the hatchet? The post-combat appropriation of battlefield spaces, in L. Purbrick, J. Aulich & G. Dawson (eds.). *Contested Spaces: Sites, representations and histories of conflict*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 121–145.
- Poor boy. 1985. *Rixaka: Cultural Journal of the African National Congress*, 1:23.
- Posel, D. 1989. A ‘battlefield of perceptions’: State discourses on political violence, 1985-1988, in J. Cock & L. Nathan (eds.). *War and society: The militarisation of South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip. 263-274.
- Potchefstroom parade. 1976. *Paratus*, 27(6), June:29.
- Potter, B. 1970. *The fault, black man* Cape Town: Howard Timmins.
- Pragtige belangstelling in ons soldateliedkompetisie. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(12), December:29.
- Première was ‘n groot sukses. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(12), December:78.
- Pres Matanzima beïndruk deur Vloot se slaankrag. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(10), October:75.
- Pressly, D. 1988. Tribute to Gen Smuts in Irene. *Paratus*, 39(7), July:53.
- Pressly, D. 1989a. Friendly city remembers help during disasters: Freedom of entry for 16 Squadron. *Paratus*, 40(1), January:38-39.
- Pressly, D. 1989b. Kaffrarian Rifles celebrate their 112th birthday. *Paratus*, 40(2), February:18.
- Pressly, D. 1989c. Northern Cape Command changes, but ... Maintenance Unit will remain extant. *Paratus*, 40(6), June:28, 44.

- Pressly, D. 1989d. SWA Territory Force. *Paratus*, 40(5), May:32-34.
- Pretorius, A. See Questionnaires.
- Prime Minister Botha: 'Stand up and be counted!'. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(5), May:57, 59.
- Prinsloo, C. 1983. Godsdienstige besware: Hoeveel simpatie moet die SAW hê? *Paratus*, 34(5), May:24-25.
- Prize winners at SAS Jalsena. Passing out parade. 1986. *Paratus*, 37(2), February:32.
- Projek Mikrofoon: SAUK leer ons mense in die Noord-Kaap ken. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(12), December:60-61.
- Pro Patria* medals for the brave. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(11), November:8.
- Proudly they stand after Matric. 1986. *Paratus*, 37(8), August:17.
- Proud parents see sons receive medals. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(12), December:45.
- Proud Tswanas queue to join their army. 1981, *Paratus*, 32(11), November:18-19.
- Pryswenners aangekondig: Vreugde op Kerkplein. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(2), February:8.
- Pte Bruce Marais takes top honours with bagpipes. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(6), June:17.
- Quite a celebrity! 1982. *Paratus*, 33(1), January:56.
- Radioprogram wat die hart verbly. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(2), February:6-7.
- Radiovroue lekker onthaal op Katima Mulilo. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(6), June:68.
- Ramsden, T. 2009. *Border-line insanity: A national serviceman's story*. Alberton: Galago.
- Recruiting drive: PRO's to assist. 1975. *Paratus*, 26(4), April:29.
- Regan, P.M. 1994. *Organizing societies for war: The process and consequences of societal militarization*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.

Reinecke, C.J. 1968. Heengaan van aangewese staatspresident - Dr. T.E. Dönges. *Commando*, 19(2), February:6-7.

Rekord getal NDPs meld hulle vir diensplig aan. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(3), March:38-39.

Representatives of the world's youth meet in Moscow for a common interest. 1985. *SWAPO Information Bulletin*, September:19-25.

Republic Day celebrated in Paris. 1989. *Paratus*, 40(8), August:8.

Republic of South Africa. 1950. *Suppression of Communism Act, 1950*. [Online]. Available: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/DC/leg19500717.028.020.044/leg19500717.028.020.044.pdf> [2020, July 29].

Republic of South Africa. 1967. *Terrorism Act*. [Online]. Available: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/terrorism-act-1967-act-no-83-1967> [2020, July 29].

Ride Safe a pleasure in Natal. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(9), September:20.

Ride Safe at WP CMD. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(9), September:54-55.

Riley-Smith, J. 1977. *What were the Crusades?* London: Macmillan.

R.L.I. memorial service. 1969. *Commando*, 20(12), December:67.

Rogez, M. 2008. 'Borderline cases': Madness and silence in the representation of the Border War in the works of select South African novelists, in G. Baines & P. Vale (eds.). *Beyond the border war: New perspectives on Southern Africa's late-Cold War conflicts*. Pretoria: University of South Africa. 120-136.

Rolprente vir 1966: Hollywood maak nog steeds oorlog. 1966. *Commando*, 17(2), February:42-43.

Rolprent van die maand: Viva Maria! Twee gevaarlike nooiens. 1966. *Commando*, 17(6), June:46-47.

Rondom Eeufeesweg op Republiek-verjaardag. 1966. *Commando*, 17(7), July:11.

- Roodt, M.C. 1984. Weermag kruip in baie harte. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(9), September:30-32.
- Roodt, M.C. 1985a. 6 Eskader groet die Vriendelike Stad. *Paratus*, 36(6), June:6.
- Roodt, M.C. 1985b. Die SA Leërvrouekollege op George: Vandag student - môre leiers. *Paratus*, 36(11), November:40-42.
- Roodt, M.C. 1985c. Met sulke vroue hoef geen land toekoms te vrees. *Paratus*, 36(10), October:34-36.
- Roodt, M.C. 1985d. Militêre basis Komga geopen. *Paratus*, 36(1), January:26-27.
- Roodt, M.C. 1985e. SAW Vermaaklikheidsgroep smee vriendskapsbande in Oos-Kaap. *Paratus*, 36(9), September:26-27.
- Roodt, M.C. 1985f. Transvaal Scottish Regiment: So tradisieryk soos boerewors, Skotse whisky. *Paratus*, 36(3), March:6-13.
- Roodt, M.C. 1986a. Beloning is groot: Die SAW help KaNgwane op sy toekomspad. *Paratus*, 37(2), February:14-17.
- Roodt, M.C. 1986b. Die 'Frontiers': Hulle brand om die Grens te besoek. *Paratus*, 37(1), January:28-29.
- Roodt, M.C. 1986c. Prince Alfred's Guard: Geslagte lank verbete vegters. *Paratus*, 37(4), April:26-31.
- Roos, H. 2008. Writing from within: Representations of the Border War in South African literature, in G. Baines & P. Vale (eds.). *Beyond the Border War: New perspectives on Southern Africa's late-Cold War conflicts*. Pretoria: Unisa. 137-157.
- Roos, S.G. 1985. *Geestelike weerbaarheid teen ideologiese terrorisme*. Pretoria: N.G. Kerkboekhandel Transvaal.
- Rourke, L. 1985a. Die Durbanse Taptoe en Vlootweek: Wat 'n skouspel! *Paratus*, 36(8), August:4-5.

- Rourke, L. 1985b. 'Tiger Troops' en SA Vloot gaan vir skouspel sorg. *Paratus*, 36(7), July:23.
- Rourke, L. 1986. The Navy Band of SAS Jalsena: Natal will be poorer without them. *Paratus*, 37(3), March:58-59.
- Rourke, L. & McMillan, J.R. 1986. Another intake of Indian volunteers at SAS Jalsena: Future manpower of the SAN provided for. *Paratus*, 37(3), March:18-19.
- Rudham, G.B. 2003. Lost soldiers from lost wars: A comparative study of the collective experience of soldiers of the Vietnam War and the Angolan/Namibian Border War. Unpublished master's thesis. Cape Town: University of Cape Town [Online]. Available: <https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/7962> [2020, July 29].
- Ry veilig = Ride safe. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(1), January:96.
- SAAF Gym holds prestige concert. 1989. *Paratus*, 40(11), November:25.
- SA Air Force Band. 1973. *Paratus*, 24(7), July:12-13.
- SA Army Band. 1973. *Paratus*, 24(7), July:10-11, 64.
- SA Army Band concert. 1968. *Commando*, 19(1), January:37.
- SAAW Col women: Their example an inspiration to all SA women. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(9), September:70.
- SACC troops accomplished musicians. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(9), September:49.
- SACS hold commemoration day to honour 'old boys'. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(3), March:48-49.
- SADF Entertainment Group: 'A never ending song of love'. 1972. *Paratus*, 23(7), July:44-45.
- SADF Info. [n.d.]. *Units: The South-West Africa Territory Force (SWATF)* [Online]. Available: <https://sadf.info/UnitSWATF.html> [2020, July, 29].
- SADF Soldiers 1 to 7. See Questionnaires.

- SADF's participation in the Durban Military Tattoo. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(4), April:18.
- SAHA. See 'South African History Archive'.
- SAHO. See 'South African History Online'.
- SAKK DB groei met rasse skrede. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(3), March:38-39.
- SAKK kry eenheidskleure. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(5), May:3-5.
- SAKK Opl Eenh kry eie swaard. 1986. *Paratus*, 37(12), December:17.
- SA Kleurlingkorpsnuus. 1971. *Paratus*, 22(1), January:25.
- SA Leërvrouekollege: Vir die room van ons land bedoel. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(5), May:12-13.
- SA Lugmag Vertoon dienste = SA Air Force Display Services. 1988a. *Toerbrosjyre: SA Lugmag vermaaklikheidstoer na die Operasionele Gebied, 7 tot 13 Maart 1988 = Tour brochure: SA Air Force entertainment tour to the Operational Area, 7 to 13 March 1988.*
- SA Lugmag Vertoon dienste = SA Air Force Display Services. 1988b. *Toerbrosjyre: SA Lugmag vermaaklikheidstoer na die Operasionele Gebied, 26-09-1988 tot 01-01-1988 = Tour brochure: SA Air Force entertainment tour to the Operational Area, 26-09-1988 to 01-01-1988.*
- SAMS film premiere. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(1), January:33.
- SAMS's night of fun and dancing. 1986. *Paratus*, 37(1), January:63.
- SA Navy Band. 1973. *Paratus*, 24(7), July:14-15, 64.
- SA Navy Band holds own medal parade. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(3), March:62.
- SA Navy Band records two long-players. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(8), August:79.
- SAnews/defenceWeb. 2015. *Cape Corps Veterans Associations to be launched* [Online]. Available:

http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=40480:cape-corps-veterans-associations-to-be-launched&catid=111:sa-defence&Itemid=242 [2020, July 29].

Sangoma choir visits Simon's Town. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(4), April:41.

SAS Jalsena flink en blink op parade. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(9), September:24-25.

SAS Jalsena on parade, and the crowd cheers. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(1), January:8.

SAS Jalsena's band enthrals schools. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(6), June:61.

SAS Jalsena's Bandmaster: 'It's one thing to shoot ... and another to play a bugle!'. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(6), June:54-55.

SAS Jalsena wen die Bayers-toekenning. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(4), April:50.

SAS Jalsina [sic] trains for Tattoo. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(6), June:4.

SA Vlootkadetkorps: Liefde vir die see en RSA vier hoogty. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(11), November:20-21.

Saunders, C.C. 2005a. 'Namibia: South African rule', in Kevin Shillington (ed.). *Encyclopedia of African History*. Vol. 2. New York: Fitzroy Dearborn. 1066-1067.

Saunders, C.C. 2005b. 'Namibia: Struggle for independence, 1970-1990', in Kevin Shillington (ed.). *Encyclopedia of African History*. Vol. 2. New York: Fitzroy Dearborn. 1070-1071.

SAW 1912-1982: Musiek was deel van die verjaardagspyskaart. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(8), August:51.

SAW 1912-1982 = SADF 1912-1982: 'n Glorieryke dag toe die SAW verjaar. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(8), August:42-45, 48-51.

SA Weermag 71 jaar oud = SA Defence Force 71 years old. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(8), August:26-28.

- SA Weermag eervol vermeld op internasionale filmfees. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(2), February:84.
- SAW druk stempel op fees af. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(7), July:79.
- SAW en die oorlog van woorde: 'n Tyd om te praat en 'n tyd om te swyg! 1983. *Paratus*, 34(1), January:12-13.
- SAW help en leer jeugleiers in natuur. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(8), August:24.
- SAW se gasvryheid en Kaap nie gou vergete. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(10), October:74-75.
- Scholtz, G.D. 1954. *Het die Afrikaner volk 'n toekoms?* Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers.
- Scholtz, G.D. 1962. *Die stryd om die wêreld: Rusland en die kommunisme*. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers.
- Scholtz, G.D. 1964. *'n Swart Suid-Afrika?* Kaapstad: Nasionale Boekhandel.
- Scholtz, G.D. 1965. *Die bedreiging van die liberalisme*. [Johannesburg]: Voortrekkerpers.
- School unveils plaque for soldier. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(6), June:9.
- Schramm, W. 1980. The effects of mass media, in Harold D. Lasswell & Daniel Lerner (eds.). *Propaganda and communication in world history*. Vol. III. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii. 295-345.
- Schutte, C. 2015. Figurative Semiotics: A Textual Analysis of FAK Songs. *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* [Electronic], 46(2), December:371-400. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43685248> [2020, July 29].
- Schutte, C. & Viljoen, M. 2017. Patriotiese liedere as ideologiese diskoers: 'n Figuratiewe semiotiese ontleding. *LitNet Akademies* [Online], 14(3). Available: <https://www.litnet.co.za/patriotiese-liedere-ideologiese-diskoers-n-figuratiewe-semiotiese-ontleding/> [2020, July 29].
- Screen star now career soldier. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(1), January:27.
- Seaman's courage has sent his success spinning. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(9), September:69.

- Secretary, Board for Religious Objection. 1989. *Paratus*, 40(10), October:65.
- Seëvierende 21 Bataljon terug. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(8), August:20-21.
- Serote, M.W. 1986. Thami Mnyele: A Portrait. *Rixaka: Cultural Journal of the African National Congress*, 3:4-6.
- Serote, M.W. 2009. Medu: Art Ensemble and revolution, in C. Kellner & S. González (eds.). *Thami Mnyele & Medu Art Ensemble retrospective*. Johannesburg: Jacana. 193-195.
- Shay, R. & Vermaak, C. 1971. *The silent war*. Rhodesia: Galaxie Press.
- Shityuwete, H. 1990. *Never follow the wolf*. London: Kliptown Books.
- Shrader, C.R. 2006. 'Military industrial complex', in James C. Bradford (ed.). *International encyclopedia of military history*. London: Routledge. 874-875.
- Shubin, V. 2008. *The hot 'Cold War': The USSR in Southern Africa*. KwaZulu-Natal: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Sinclair, P. 1970. Apartheid and jazz. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, 4(8), August:22-23.
- Singing good for spirit. 1989. *Paratus*, 40(11), November:15.
- Sjampanje-afsluiting op 'n vonkelnoot. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(11), November:53.
- Skielik rolprentster! 1984. *Paratus*, 35(6), June:55.
- Skoolkadette se heel bestes aangewys. 1989. *Paratus*, 40(1), January:13.
- Skoolseun kry *Paratus* gereeld. 1977. *Paratus*, 28(9), September:39.
- 'Sleep Safe' scheme gives our NSMs the nod. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(12), December:50.
- 'Sleep Safe' scheme takes step forward. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(2), February:66.

- Sloboda, J. 2001. Affect, in *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online [Electronic].
Available: <https://doi-org.ez.sun.ac.za/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.42574>
[2020, July 29].
- Smith, C. 1980. You have friends in the USA. *Paratus*, 31(2), February:50.
- Smit, G. 1987. A solemn tribute at Sappersrust. *Paratus*, 38(6), June:14.
- Smit, J. 1985. Sang in die SAW. *Paratus*, 36(7), July:14-15.
- Smith, C. 1974. Die nuusmedia en die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag. *Paratus*, 25(1), January:4-5.
- Smith, D. & Smith, R. 1983. *The economics of militarism*. London: Pluto Press.
- Smith, K. & Nöthling, F.J. 1985. *Africa north of the Limpopo: The imperial experience since 1800*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Só het die seuns manne geword ... bekend en beroemd daarby! 1981. *Paratus*, 32(4), April:54-55.
- Só is die SA Weermag ook by die Jeugjaar betrokke. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(3), March:32
- Só ontvang almal *Paratus* gereeld. 1976. *Paratus*, 27(5), May:1.
- Soldate-seun = Soldier son. 1977. *Supplement to Paratus*, 28(10), October:iii.
- Son of Shaka. 1979. The black man's view: Era of terror. Written by 'Son of Shaka' in temporary absence of Mr David Masango. *Paratus*, 30(6), June:3.
- Son of Shaka. 1980. Why black South Africans fear a Marxist regime in Rhodesia. *Paratus*, 31(1), January:3.
- Sonskyn en skouspel. 1971. *Paratus*, 22(6), June:24-31, 70.
- Sound of music in the warm winter sun. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(9), September:16.

- South African Audio Archive. [n.d.]. *Die stem van Suid-Afrika = The call of South Africa*. [Online]. Available: http://www.flatinternational.org/template_volume.php?volume_id=272 [2020, July 29].
- South African Government. 2020. *National Anthem* [Online]. Available: <https://www.gov.za/about-sa/national-symbols/national-anthem> [2020, July 29].
- South African History Archive (SAHA). 2015. *Commemorating the End Conscription Campaign: Gallery* [Online]. Available: <http://www.saha.org.za/ecc25/gallery.htm> [2020, July 29].
- South African History Online (SAHO). [n.d.a]. *Apartheid: The early 1980s* [Online]. Available: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/apartheid-early-1980s> [2020, July 29].
- South African History Online (SAHO). [n.d.b]. *Cuba and the struggle for democracy in South Africa* [Online]. Available: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/cuba-and-struggle-democracy-south-africa> [2020, July 29].
- South African History Online (SAHO). 2016. *The Cape Coloured Corps and the First World War* [Online]. Available: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/cape-coloured-corps-and-first-world-war> [2020, July 29].
- South African History Online (SAHO). 2019. *Mimi Coertse* [Online]. Available: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/mimi-coertse> [2020, July 29].
- Soweto honours her warrior sons. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(11), November:4-6.
- Speak the truth from the pulpit. 1986. *Mayibuye: Journal of the African National Congress South Africa South Africa*, 7:10.
- Spesiale boodskappe. 1974. *Paratus*, 25(12), December:1.
- Spesiale Korrespondent. 1966. Parlementsopening. *Commando*, 17(10), October:33-35.
- Spivey, C.A. 1996. *This land is your land, this land is my land: folk music, communism, and the red scare as a part of the American landscape* [Online]. Available:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20080625072313/http://www.loyno.edu/history/journal/1996-7/Spivey.html> [2020, July 29].

Staatspresident besoek die Operasionele Gebied. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(5), May:6-7.

Staggering SADF parade. 1966. *Commando*, 17(7), July:6-37.

State President urges cadets: 'Prepare yourself to meet the challenge of your time'. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(8), August:17.

Steenkamp, W. 1989. *South Africa's border war 1966-1989*. Gibraltar: Ashanti Publishing Limited.

Steenkamp, W. 2005. The Battle of Blaauwberg 200 years ago. *Military History Journal*, 13(4), December [Online]. Available: <http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol134ws.html> [2020, July 29].

Stemmet, J.A. 2006. Troops, townships and tribulations: deployment of the South African Defence Force (SADF) in the township unrest of the 1980s. *Journal for Contemporary History* [Electronic]. 178-193. Available: http://reference.sabinet.co.za/webx/access/electronic_journals/contemp/contemp_v31_n2_a10.pdf [2020, July 29].

Steyn, E.S. 1987a. Met 'n lied in die hart na die Operasionele Gebied. *Paratus*, 38(8), August:35.

Steyn, E.S. 1987b. Sodat dié wat agterbly in vryheid kan leef. *Paratus*, 38(12), December:46.

Steyn, E.S. 1988a. Projek Masifunde kom op dreef. *Paratus*, 39(2), February:31.

Steyn, E.S. 1988b. Regiment Pretoria ... Hulle het op die roepstem geantwoord. *Paratus*, 39(8), August:9-10.

Steyn, E.S. 1988c. Reg van Vrye Toegang vir 87 Helikoptervliegskool: Hoopstad sê dankie vir vloedhulp. *Paratus*, 39(10), October:10.

Steyn, E.S. 1989. A huge welcome for Highlanders. *Paratus*, 40(2), February:23.

- Steyn, J.C. 1976. *Op pad na die grens*. Kaapstad: Tafelberg.
- Sticker art. 1986. *Rixaka: Cultural Journal of the African National Congress*, 2:25-26.
- Stockwell, S. & Muir, A. 2003. The Military-Entertainment Complex: A new facet of information warfare. *The Fibreculture Journal*, 1 [Online]. Available: <http://one.fibreculturejournal.org/fcj-004-the-military-entertainment-complex-a-new-facet-of-information-warfare> [2020, July 29].
- Stoltz, B. & Roos, J. 1987. Troopie: Die eerste pas. *Paratus*, 38(4), April:21.
- Strunk, O. 1981a. *Source readings in music history: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Strunk, O. 1981b. *Source readings in music history: The Baroque era*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Strunk, O. 1981c. *Source readings in music history: The Renaissance*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Strydom, W.J.A. 1975. Musiekvermaak deur SAW ontlok groot applous: Balans van vol program beïndruk vol saal. *Paratus*, 26(10), October:20-21.
- Studente verras Eerste Minister met serenade. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(3), March:59.
- Stukkies van Parys kom na 1 Mil Hosp. 1989. *Paratus*, 40(9), September:10.
- Suiderkruisfonds gee pakkette aan 21 Bataljon. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(9), September:9.
- Summary of PLAN combat highlights from 3 January to 30 July, 1985. *SWAPO Information Bulletin*, Aug:11-27.
- SWAPO: Coldblooded murderers by their own admission. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(1), January:23.
- Szymczak, C. 2004. Music as cultural weapon in the life of Jonas Gwangwa. Unpublished master's thesis. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.
- Tannie Ristie kom haar belofte na. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(10), October:86-87.

Ter Haar, M. 1985. Studente besoek die Ops Gebied ... en watter onvergeetlike belewenis!
Paratus, 36(1), January:46-47.

The Anglican Church in South Africa. 1967. *Mayibuye: Journal of the African National Congress South Africa South Africa*, 1(5), November:11-13.

The best. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(1), January:51.

The big parade: 31 May 1966: A day to remember. 1966. *Commando*, 17(7), July:36-37.

The Bophuthatswana Defence Force: The birth of an army. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(7), July:38-39.

The Carbineers exercise right to march into their city. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(10), October:14-15.

The Castle 300 years old: Spectacular Military Tattoo. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(6), June:7.

The Chaplain General's views on ... the matter of conscientious objections. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(3), March:37.

The Communists are not only the White man's problem. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(11), November:8-9.

The Durban Tattoo: It's going to be the best yet! 1982. *Paratus*, 33(7), July:42-43.

The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (1961-64). 1981. *Mayibuye: Journal of the African National Congress South Africa South Africa*, 15(12), December:17-22.

The 'Four Jacks and a Jill' vermaak soldate. 1972. *Paratus*, 23(8), August:64.

The harsh reality of draft dodging. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(4), April:34-35.

The Holy Bible, King James Version. 1611. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The Light Horse and SAAF bands combine. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(9), September:60.

The need for a SA Defence Force. 1974. *Paratus*, 25(3), March:2-3.

The Nkomati Talks. 1984. [Online]. Available: <http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/mozambique-sa-the-nkomati-talks-1984.pdf> [2020, July 29].

- The SADF a friend in need to SA blacks. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(5), May:10-11.
- The SADF Entertainment Group announces a swinging time. 1971. *Paratus*, 22(8), August:62-64.
- The SADF: One of the biggest employers in the RSA. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(4), April:33.
- The Soldier's Burden. [n.d.]. *The Cape Corps in battle*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.kaiserscross.com/188001/378601.html> [2020, July 29].
- The sound of music in VTH. 1988. *Paratus*, 39(9), September:49.
- The Southern Cross Fund gave plenty to smile about. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(5), May:49.
- The Voice of Namibia Radio Services. 1982. *SWAPO Information Bulletin*, October:19.
- The Voice of Namibia Radio Services. 1986. *SWAPO News and Views*, 1(1), November:18.
- The Windhoek show. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(1), January:52-53.
- This is how 21 (Black) Battalion prepared for border duty. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(4), April:4-7.
- This is one soldier who likes to sing! 1980. *Paratus*, 31(6), June:8, 27.
- This is why blacks volunteer for 21 BN. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(3), March:65.
- This is why volunteers want to join the Navy. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(4), April:34.
- Thompson, E.P. 1982. Notes on exterminism, the last stage of civilization, in New Left Review (ed.). *Exterminism and cold war*. London: Verso.
- Thompson, J.H. 2007. *Dit was oorlog: Van afkak tot bosbefok: Suid-Afrikaanse dienspligtiges praat*. Kaapstad: Zebra Press.
- Thorpe, T. See Questionnaires.
- Thorpe, W. 1988. Sing tot eer van die Here. *Paratus*, 39(12), December:33.
- Thousands watch birthday celebrations in Cape Town. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(5), May:24-27.

- Tilly, C. 1990. *Coercion, capital and European states: AD 990-1992*. Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell.
- Tivers, J. 1999. 'The home of the British Army': The iconic construction of military defence landscapes. *Landscape Research*, 24:303-319.
- Toekenning aan SAW. 1976. *Paratus*, 27(7), July:9.
- Tomaselli, K.G. 1979. *The South African film industry*. Johannesburg: African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Tomaselli, K.G. 1984. 'Adapt or die': Militarization and the South African media 1976-1982 [Online]. Available: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/archive-files2/rejan84.3.pdf> [2020, July 29].
- Tomaselli, K.G. & Louw, E. 1988. Militarisation, hegemony and the South African media, 1976-1986. Paper presented at the 19th annual ASSA conference, University of Durban-Westville. 19 July, Durban [Online]. Available: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/306118307_Militarisation_Hegemony_and_the_South_African_Media [2020, July 29].
- Toneelgroep besoek grens. 1972. *Paratus*, 23(5), May:41.
- Traditional dancing in Cape Town. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(6), June:17.
- Transvaal Scottish presentation of new colour to the Regiment. 1967. *Commando*, 18(11), November:31-32.
- Troepe geniet 'n wenresep van vermaak. 1986. *Paratus*, 37(6), June:37.
- Troepe Tunes to boost Entertainment Fund. 1985. *Paratus*, 36(11), November:65.
- Troopie is going to make you a winner. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(3), March:52-53.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission Special Submission on Conscription. 1997. Cape Town, 23 July 1997 [Online]. Available: <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/special%5Cconscrip/conscri01.htm> [2020, July 29].

- Tshonyane. 1969. 'Poqo': Origin and significance. *Mayibuye*, 3(3), February:8-10.
- Tuisland-Ministers besoek die Operasionele Gebied. 1979. *Paratus*, 30(12), December:42-43.
- TV film on border situation. 1977. *Paratus*, 28(6), June:4.
- Twee skole oorheers kadetkompetiesie. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(11), November:21.
- Twenty happy faces! 1985. *Paratus*, 36(5), May:51.
- Uitbundige plesier by konsert. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(12), December:28.
- Ululations at passing out parade. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(8), August:60-61.
- Unieke kadetorkes bring vreugde aan baie mense ... En die groot manne bly op die wenpad. 1984. *Paratus*, 35(9), September:48.
- United Nations. 1978. *United Nations Resolution 435 to give Namibia independence*. 29 September. [Online]. Available: <http://www.constitutionnet.org/vl/item/united-nations-resolution-435-give-namibia-independence> [2020, July 29].
- United Nations. 1981. *South Africa's plan and capability in the nuclear field*. New York: United Nations.
- Uys, I. 1993. *Bushman soldiers: Their Alpha and Omega*. Germiston, SA: Fortress.
- Vale, P. 2008. The Cold War and South Africa: Repetitions and revisions on prolegomenon, in G. Baines & P. Vale (eds.). *Beyond the border war: New perspectives on Southern Africa's late-Cold War conflicts*. Pretoria: University of South Africa. 22-41.
- Van der Merwe, D. See Interviews.
- Van der Ross, R.E. 1979. *Myths and attitudes: An inside look at the Coloured people*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Van der Waag, I. 2013. Military culture and the South African armed forces: An historical perspective, in F. Vrey, A. Esterhuyse & T. Mandrup (eds.). *On military culture: Theory, practice and African armed forces*. 181-198.

- Van der Walt, K.M. 1985. Met sy 'krismiswurm' op boeremusiektroon. *Paratus*, 36(3), March:26.
- Van der Walt, M. 1986. NDP van die maand: Onderkorporaal wen groot sangwedstryd. *Paratus*, 37(4), April:65.
- Van der Westhuizen, N. 1970. Verskeidenheidskonsert op die 'Hoogte'. *Commando*, May:73.
- Van de Venter, A. 1986a. 911 Bataljon op Oamites: Vrede en harmonie waar sanderige winde waai. *Paratus*, 37(9), September:28-29.
- Van de Venter, A. 1986b. SWA Polisiemag in 5 jaar Swapo se doodsteek. *Paratus*, 37(8), August:12-13.
- Van de Venter, A. 1987a. 21 Bataljon geniet Vryheid in Soweto. *Paratus*, 38(7), July:6.
- Van de Venter, A. 1987b. 'n Trotse verjaardag vir die SAW! *Paratus*, 38(8), August:6-9.
- Van de Venter, A. 1987c. Revue-span blaas lewe in die TV-kassie. *Paratus*, 38(8), August:25.
- Van de Venter, A. 1987d. Vleisie blaas, tokkel die hele boksendaais. *Paratus*, 38(3), March:29.
- Van de Venter, A. 1987e. Weermag van Venda vir 5e verjaardag. *Paratus*, 38(12), December:32-33.
- Van de Venter, A. 1989. SAW verwelkom Staatspresident: 'Ek weet ek kan op die SAW staatmaak'. *Paratus*, 40(11), November:10-11.
- Van Goethem, A. & Sloboda, J. 2011. The functions of music for affect regulation. *Musicae Scientiae* [Electronic], 15(2):208–228, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1029864911401174> [2020, July 29].
- Van Heerden, A. 2014. Die Suiderkruisfonds en die mobilisering van die Suid-Afrikaanse blanke burgerlike samelewing tydens die Grensoorlog, 1968-1989. Unpublished master's thesis. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University [Online]. Available: <http://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/86207> [2020, July 29].

- Van Heerden, E. 1983. *My Kubaan*. Kaapstad: Tafelberg.
- Van Niekerk, P. 1989. Vloot het belangrike rol in maritieme toekoms. *Paratus*, 40(5), May:27.
- Van 'n skoolseun na 'n man: Tien dae in die lewe van 'n dienspligtige. 1971. *Paratus*, 22(8), August:32-35.
- Van Rensburg, J. 1984. Kadette wys wie is die beste: Spanning laai hoog op Potchefstroom. *Paratus*, 35(10), October:20.
- Van Wyk, C. 1988a. Indrukwekkende vertoning: Die SAW skitter weer op Randse Skou. *Paratus*, 39(5), May:12-13.
- Van Wyk, C. 1988b. Witwatersrand Rifles hou parade en vereer makkers. *Paratus*, 39(8), August:28.
- Van Wyk, J.A. 1987. NDPs en hul ouers sien sterre op ouerdag. *Paratus*, 38(4), April:22-23.
- Van Yperen, R. 1966. *De Nederlandse militaire muziek*. Bussum: Van Dishoeck.
- Variety concert by SADF Entertainment Group. 1973. *Paratus*, 24(7), July:44-45.
- Vcelar, M. [1981]. *Clandestine Stations of Southern Africa* [Online]. Available: http://www.intervalsignals.net/countries/african_clandestines.htm [2020, July 29].
- Veilig huis toe! 1980. *Paratus*, 31(10), October:55.
- Vendas word knap soldate. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(4), April:8-9.
- Venda Weermag vyf jaar oud: Voorste sanger prys weermag in lied. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(12), December:34.
- Verset teen Diensplig. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(2), February:22-23, 94.
- Video 2 comes to Simon's Town. 1983. *Paratus*, 34(7), July:78.
- Villiersdorp vergeet nie gesneuweldes. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(9), September:27.

- Vliegtuie en tamboere dreun in Verwoerdburg. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(7), July:20.
- Volunteers roll up at SAS Jalsena. 1980. *Paratus*, 31(3), March:48.
- Voortrekkermonument & Natuurreseervaat/Nature Reserve. (2016). *Doodkry is min* [Online]. Available: https://web.facebook.com/Voortrekkermon/photos/die-rolprent-doodkry-is-min-uitgereik-deur-die-fak-se-w%C3%AAreld-premi%C3%A8re-is-in-1961/10154375892192103/?_rdc=1&_rdr [2020, July 29].
- Von Clausewitz, C. 1982. *On war*. [London]: Penguin.
- Vyf van SAKK word kapteins. 1978. *Paratus*, 29(5), May:4-5.
- Waaghalse durf vuur op verjaardag aan. 1987. *Paratus*, 38(2), February:43.
- Wag by opening van Staatsteater. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(7), July:53.
- Walliesers besoek die SAKK. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(2), February:20.
- Wambovroue staan bankvas agter die Veiligheidsmagte. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(9), September:10-11.
- Wandi, C. 1968. Fighting talk: The lies they tell. *Mayibuye: Journal of the African National Congress South Africa South Africa*, 2(16), April:12-14.
- War communique: 28 racist soldiers killed and war materials captured or destroyed in PLAN blitz. 1983. *SWAPO Information Bulletin*, Dec:30.
- War communique: Boers catch hell in 1983. 1983. *SWAPO Information Bulletin*, February:15-16.
- War communique, June July 1981. 1981. *SWAPO of Namibia: Information & Comments*, 8, August:19.
- War veterans from afar gather in Cape Town. 1981. *Paratus*, 32(7), July:55.
- Warden, H. 2017. From *Paratus* to *SA Soldier*: A reflection on the primary magazine of the SA Military 1990-2010. Unpublished master's thesis. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch

- University [Online]. Available: <http://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/102665> [2020, July 29].
- Warwick, R. 2009. White South Africa and defence 1960-1968: Militarization, threat perceptions and counter strategies. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Wat gemaak met ontduikers van Diensplig? 1983. *Paratus*, 34(3), March:61.
- Watkins, G. 2003. *Proof through the night: Music and the Great War*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wees sterk, word 'n man: Onderhou ... wandel. 1966. *Commando*, 17(4), April:14.
- Weiner, C. 1985. A duty to help protect their fatherland. *Paratus*, 36(2), February:44-45.
- Werkerkoor seëvier. 1989. *Paratus*, 40(9), September:9.
- Wham wham, you're dead: Youth movements in Namibia. 1982. *SASPU Focus* [Online], 1(3), December:24. Available: http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdf/AK2117/AK2117-J2-22-W18-002-jpeg.pdf [2020, July 29].
- What are we celebrating? 1971. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, 5(9), September:20.
- White, T.R. 1981. Recruiting: A man-sized problem. *Paratus*, 32(10), October:30-31.
- Whitfield, S. 1996. *The culture of the Cold War*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Williams, D. 2008. *Op die grens: Wit mans se militêre ervaring, 1965-1990*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Williams, R. 1985. *Towards 2000*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Windrich, E. 2000. The laboratory of hate: The role of clandestine radio in the Angolan war. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 3(2):208-211.

- Wingrin, D. 2012. *Tumult in the clouds: Stories from the South African Air Force 1920-2010*. Johannesburg: 30° South Publishers.
- Winkler, H.E. & Nathan, L. 1989. Waging peace: Church resistance to militarisation, in J. Cock and L. Nathan (eds.). *War and society: The militarisation of South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip. 324-337.
- Wit [sic] command stages military tattoo. 1968. *Commando*, 19(1), January:13, 17.
- Witte, H.E.J. 1980. *Paratus* gereeld na Holland. *Paratus*, 31(2), February:51.
- Witskrif oor Verdediging en Krygstuigvoorsiening: Geldenhuys-Komitee se verslag. 1986. *Paratus*, 37(5), May:64-73.
- Witz, L. 2006. Eventless history at the end of apartheid: The making of the 1988 Dias Festival. *Kronos* [Electronic], 32, November:162-191. Available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41056563> [2020, July 29]
- Wood, G.B. 1988. Opwinding vir KMG se swart werkers. *Paratus*, 39(6), June:29.
- Woodward, R. 2014. Military landscapes: Agendas and approaches for future research. *Progress in Human Geography*, 38(1):40-61.
- Woorde van Soldatelied aangepas. 1982. *Paratus*, 33(3), March:40.
- WWII USA Preservation Association. [n.d.]. *History* [Online]. Available: <http://ww2uso.org/history.html> [2020, July 29].
- Wylie, D. 2008. Art & Revolution: *The life and death of Thami Mnyele, South African artist*. Johannesburg: Jacana.
- Wynberg Boys' High School. 1970. *Paratus*, 22(12), December:31, 33.
- Your National Service can make you 'rich'! 1979. *Paratus*, 23(8), August:16.

Interviews

- Hougaard, Karin. 2017. Personal interview [Skype]. 10 August 2017.

Morris, Paul. 2017. Personal interview. 26 July, Stellenbosch, South Africa.

Mushelenga, Nkrumah. 2017. Personal interview. 8 September, Windhoek, Namibia.

Nombanza, Jessy. 2017. Personal interview, 8 September, Windhoek, Namibia.

Van der Merwe, Derick. 2017. Personal interview. 6 August. Stellenbosch, South Africa.

Questionnaires

De Ruig, Kevin, 2016.

Hare, Doug, 2016.

Harvey, Kayne, 2016.

Pretorius, Adolph, 2016.

Thorpe, Trevor, 2016.

SADF Soldier 1, 2016.

SADF Soldier 2, 2016.

SADF Soldier 3, 2016.

SADF Soldier 4, 2016.

SADF Soldier 5, 2016.

SADF Soldier 6, 2016.

SADF Soldier 7, 2016.

Discography

Bridges, Bles. 2018. *Ry hom nie verby nie* [Video file]. Available:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EzlkDNWvw_I [2020, July 29].

Hurter, Matt. 2014. *Ride safe* [Video file]. Available:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_WF6nljEwu4 [2020, July 29].

Hurter, Matt. 2015. *Ry veilig* [Video file]. Available:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ovpqlKnLnXQ> [2020, July 29].

Infanterieskool = Infantry School. 1982. *Exerce Perfectioni*. Johannesburg: Universal. Exerce perfectioni. Infanterieskool = Infantry School. 1982. Universal Recordings URS 82071.

Infanterieskool = Infantry School. 1983. Universal Recordings URS 11083.

Solms, Esmé. 2015. *Soldate seun* [Video file]. Available:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xzDUjqx5vt4> [2020, July 29].

Journals consulted

African National Congress (ANC). 1966-1998. *Mayibuye: Journal of the African National Congress South Africa*. Lusaka, Zambia, African National Congress. Available: <http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/ma> [2020, July 29].

African National Congress (ANC). 1967-1990. *Sechaba: Official Organ of the African National Congress South Africa*. [Dar es Salaam]: [African National Congress of South Africa]. [Online]. Available: <http://www.disa.ukzn.ac.za/se> [2020, July 29].

African National Congress (ANC). 1985-1990. *Rixaka: Cultural Journal of the African National Congress* [Online]. [Lusaka, Zambia]: The Congress. Available: <http://www.disa.ukzn.ac.za/ri1684811x000000> [2020, July 29].

African National Congress (ANC), London. 1979-1988. *Dawn: Monthly journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe* [Online]. [S.l.]: Umkhonto we Sizwe. Available: <http://www.disa.ukzn.ac.za/da> [2020, July 29].

SWAPO of Namibia. [1980-1988]. *SWAPO Information Bulletin*. SWAPO. Department of Information and Publicity. Luanda, People's Republic of Angola: South West Africa People's Organization, Dept. of Information and Publicity.

SWAPO of Namibia. [1986-1989]. *SWAPO News and Views*. Cranborne: SWAPO Foreign Mission in Zimbabwe.

SWAPO of Namibia. [1977-1981]. *Information and Comments*. SWAPO of Namibia: Stockholm.

South Africa. Department of Defence = Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag. 1960-1970. *Kommando: Die amptelike maandblad van die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag*. Pretoria: SADF. Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. Department of Defence. Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag. 1970-1994. *Paratus: The official monthly periodical of the SA Defence Force = Paratus: Die amptelike maandelikse tydskrif van die SA Weermag*. Pretoria: Directorate Public Relations SADF. Pretoria: South African Defence Force.

The Namibian. 1985-. Windhoek: Free Press of Namibia.

Addendum: Music examples

Border Song

Sterk soos graniet is die wil om te lewe,
hier in my Suiderland.

Vry soos die wind wat daar sing oor die
vlaktes, vry van 'n vreemde hand.

Magte van onheil bedreig nou die vrede,
grense word roek'loos gebreek.

Hard slaan ons vuishou, verpletter die
vyand ... onreg meedoënloos gewreek.

Ons sal veg
vir die reg
om ons erfenis te hou,
Doodsveragtend
in die stryduur
tot die einde toe getrou.

Lank is die nagte van eensame wagstaan
ver van my mense tuis.

Sien ek weer vlugtig die liewe gesigte,
dwaal ons weer saam by die huis.

Sluipende boosheid verjaag gou die
beelde, skendbaar my kind en my vrou.

Volg op die vlugspoor met wapens en
bede.

Hy sal Sy hand oor ons hou.

Ons sal veg
vir die reg
om ons erfenis te hou,
Doodsveragtend

Dauntless our will to survive and to prosper

Here in our Southern land -

Free as the winds o'er our plains and our
mountains

Free from oppressor's hand!

Dark are the forces that menace our country
Frontier and city and farm.

Ours is the courage triumphant to crush them -
Ruthless the strength of our arm!

We shall fight

For the right

Of our heritage anew-

Scorning danger,

Proud and fearless -

Faithful unto death and true.

Lonely and long are the nights on the border,
Far from our family and home.

Sweet are the visions of dear ones we long for
Under the night's black dome ...

Terror and evil that sneak through the darkness

Threaten the ones we hold dear!

Give us Your guidance, O God, give us
courage -

Guard us when danger is near!

We shall fight

For the right

Of our heritage anew-

Scorning danger,

in die stryduur
tot die einde toe getrou.
Suid-Afrika vir jou!

Proud and fearless -
Faithful unto death and true,
South Africa, for you!

Additional verse to the *Border Song* to include the SA Navy (Border song's new verse rides the crest of the wave, 1981:49):

Wakende oë sweef oor die waters,
Kompas en sterre die kaart,
Manne paraat op die bruisende branding,
Koersvas, berekend die vaart,
Diepsee en lugruim, o skoonste van kuste,
Land wat ons liefhet ... ons gee
Kragte en kunde, ons sterwe, ons lewe
Hier op jou groot waterweë

Sharp are the eyes sweeping far o'er the waters,
Compass and stars as their guides ...
Men at the ready to face any danger,
Braving the winds and the tides.
Deep sea and blue skies, o fairest of countries
Land we adore – with our brains,
Bodies and hearts, we shall joyfully serve you
Here on your wide ocean lanes.

Border Song: Tonalities

Sterk soos graniet is die wil om te lewe, hier in my Suiderland.	Maj E-flat I-IV-V-I Forte
Vry soos die wind wat daar sing oor die vlaktes, vry van 'n vreemde hand. Magte van onheil bedreig nou die vrede, grense word roek'loos gebreek.	Modulation E-flat - B-flat (I to V) Forte Modal interchange B-flat to f minor Piano
Hard slaan ons vuishou, verpletter die vyand ... onreg meedoënloos gewreek. Ons sal veg vir die reg om ons erfenis te hou , Doodsveragtend in die stryduur tot die einde toe getrou.	f minor - B-flat or E-flat ff E-flat Melody change – broad I-IV-I E-flat V-vi cadence Repetition of 'tot die einde toe getrou' Variation 'tot die einde [rest] getrou'
Suid-Afrika vir jou!	E-flat V-I High note cliché

Ride Safe Song

The second column contains a translated version by Frederikse (1986:68):⁴⁷⁹

He's just a boy in a uniform, trying to be home	He is just a troopie, standing near the main road,
With a heavy loaded kit bag, and not much hair to comb	He's got a weekend pass and he wants to go home.
I hope that he's a friend of yours, he's a friend of mine	Pick him up, take him with,
That soldier standing waiting at the Ride Safe sign	He's still got a long way to go,
Make a friend, make an effort	That troopie who stands by the 'Drive Safely' sign,
It's your duty and it's mine	His hair is short, his shoulders broad and strong,
Make a point of picking someone up	And his arms are tanned brown,
At the 'Ride Safe' sign	With pride he does his national service,
[Speech]:	Respected wherever he goes,
If you pick him up and talk to him, you will find he's quite a man	He's more than just a number,
And he can tell you all his stories like only a soldier can	He's a man's man,
He'll tell about his bungalow and his buddies back at camp	Even if this song is never a hit, all that I want to ask,
And how he got that blue eye from an 'ouman' [champ]	Is that everyone of our motorists will also do our bit,
He'll tell you about the 'vasbyt' and how he's longing for 'min dae'	Pick him up, take him with,
	He's still got a long way to go,
	That troopie who stands by the 'Drive Safely' sign

⁴⁷⁹ See Hurter (2014, 2015) in the Discography for audio recordings of the English and Afrikaans versions of this song, as well as Frederikse (1986:68) for its translation.

And when his army days are over, he's
 gonna buy himself a car
 Now, he's not ashamed to tell you he gets
 a little lonely now and then,
 and that he just can't wait to get home and
 see his family once again
 He likes his country music and he's got an
 old guitar that he plays
 But the only song he really knows is a
 song called '40 days'
 In camp he's just a number, so what he
 longs for most,
 is that message on the radio and that
 perfume letter in the post
 [Refrain]
 He's just a boy in a uniform [...]
 [Speech]:
 As you drive along, he'll explain to you
 exactly where he stays
 Because that's all that he's been thinking
 of for these past few days
 And when you drive him off, he'll say,
 'Thank you Sir', or maybe, 'Dankie Oom'
 Then he'll grab that heavy kit bag and
 he'll run that last mile home
 Now, I'm not trying to tell you, motorists,
 what I think you ought to do
 I just wrote this little song for you to listen
 to
 And even though my little song may never
 zoom into the charts

I just hope this message creeps right into
your heart

[Refrain]:

I hope that he's a friend of yours
'cause he's a friend of mine [...]

At the 'Ride Safe' sign

'Ride Safe' sign

The 'Ride Safe' sign

The 'Ride Safe' sign

Die Grensman

Die Grensman⁴⁸⁰

Heel aan die suidpunt van die vasteland
 Afrika
 Is baie volke tuis benede die Suiderkruis
 In 'n land waar almal saam 'n nuwe toekoms
 bou
 terwyl elkeen sy eie kenmerk tog behou.
 En vir die vrede en rus is ons verskuldig aan
 'n heel besonder mens, die jongman op die
 grens.
 En aan dié dapper man wat waghou in die bos
 en ruig
 Wil ons nou graag met hart en siel ons dank
 betuig.
 Ons groet jou Grensman, getroue Grensman,
 ons loof jou dapperheid en trou.
 Ons dank jou Grensman, getroue Grensman,
 dat ons nog veilig voort mag bou.
 Ons bid dat jy die nodige beskerming kry van
 God se hand
 terwyl jy dag en nag gereedstaan op die
 grense van ons land,
 Ons groet jou Grensman, getroue Grensman,
 Suid-Afrika is trots op iou!
 Ons staan hier verenigd, soos een man staan
 ons saam

The Men on the Border

On the Southern tip of fulminating Africa
 there is a country fair of many nations where
 its people work and play and rest in safe
 security.
 Thanks to those men who fight a ruthless
 enemy:
 A foe whose aim is to destroy all forms of
 harmony,
 Western democracy, respect and sovereignty.
 And so to all the men who fight to keep our
 country free
 we pledge support and sing from ev'ry heart
 our praise:
 The men on the border, the men on the border,
 we praise you for your bravery.
 The men on the border, the men on the border,
 It's thanks to you that we are free.
 We pray that you will be protected by the
 Lord's Almighty Hand
 while you are gallantly defending peace and
 safety in our land
 The men on the border, the men on the border,
 South Africa is proud of you!
 We stand here united against the
 enemy

⁴⁸⁰ 'Die Grensman gryp gehoor aan hart' (1986:2).

teen pogings tot ons ondermyning van ons
goeie naam.

Vir vryheid van spraak en die reg om God te
prys

wil ons ons dankbaarheid teenoor die
Grensman bewys.

Ons groet jou Grensman, getroue Grensman,
ons loof jou dapperheid en trou.

Ons dank jou Grensman, getroue Grensman,
dat ons nog veilig voort mag bou.

Ons bid dat jy die nodige beskerming kry van
God se hand

terwyl jy dag en nag gereedstaan op die
grense van ons land.

Jou heldedade, met Godsgenade,
getuig van moed en plig en trou.

Byt vaster Grensman, ons dapper Grensman,
Suid-Afrika is trots op jou!

who uses all means to undermine
stability.

We thank those who fight them that
all of us are free

to work, to worship, and to build our
own destiny.

The men on the border, the men on the border,
we praise you for your bravery.

The men on the border, the men on the border,
It's thanks to you that we are free.

We pray that you will be protected by the
Lord's Almighty Hand

while you are gallantly defending peace and
safety in our land

there's law and order while men on the border
stand united, loyal and true.

Let us remind you we're right behind you,
South Africa is proud of you!

Together⁴⁸¹

All for one and one for all
Ever let that be our call
Side by side we'll stand
Defend to the death our land
Together!
All for one and one for all
The thin, fat, short and the tall
Mate, friend and brother
Depending on each other
Together!
All for one and one for all
Together how can we fall
If we all unite
What foe could withstand our might
Together!"

⁴⁸¹ 'Woorde van Soldatelied aangepas' (1982:40).